

JPRS 80202

26 February 1982

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2577

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

26 February 1982

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2577

## CONTENTS

## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

- How Germany Promotes Africa's Cultural Growth  
(THE STANDARD, 7 Jan 82)..... 1

## BOTSWANA

- Racial Conflict Threat at Mine  
(THE CITIZEN, 11 Feb 82)..... 3

## KENYA

- Onamu's Suspension From Kanu Is Supported  
(THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82)..... 4
- Kanu Branch Will Discipline Unruly Members  
(THE STANDARD, 7 Jan 82)..... 5
- Kuguru Resigns His Nyeri Co-ops Post  
(THE STANDARD, 5 Jan 82)..... 7
- Unscrupulous Brokers, Auctioneers Rapped  
(Editorial; THE STANDARD, 8 Jan 82)..... 8
- Prices of Chemicals Too High Is Claim  
(Kul Bhushan; THE STANDARD, 5 Jan 82)..... 9
- E.E.C. Provides Aid for Kenya's Energy Projects  
(Kul Bhushan; THE STANDARD, 8 Jan 82)..... 10
- Naudi, Kakamega District Borders Reported Quiet  
(James Kuria; THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82)..... 11
- University Union Threatens Action  
(THE STANDARD, 5 Jan 82)..... 13

Bank Will Loan Farmers Shs 160 Million (Editorial; THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82).....	14
Manufacturers Look for Gradual Improvement (Kul Bhushan; THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82).....	15
Do Not Spread Hatred, Leaders Are Told (THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82).....	16
Naudi-Luhya Conflict Reported Under Control (THE STANDARD, 5 Jan 82).....	17
Mombasa To Get Modern Fire-Fighting Equipment (THE STANDARD, 5 Jan 82).....	18
Fire Destroys Section of American Mission Warehouse (THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82).....	19
Parastatal Unions Form Consultative Body (THE STANDARD, 6 Jan 82).....	20
Government Threatens Steps To End Church Wrangles (THE STANDARD, 6 Jan 82).....	21
County Employees Go Unpaid for Three Months (THE STANDARD, 6 Jan 82).....	22
State To Spend Shs 60m on Water Supply (THE STANDARD, 5 Jan 82).....	23
Riot Police Break Up Farm Co-op Election (THE STANDARD, 8 Jan 82).....	24
Rift Valley Province Produced More Coffee in 1980 (THE STANDARD, 8 Jan 82).....	25
Tea Farmers Urged To Grow More (THE STANDARD, 2 Jan 82).....	26
Briefs	
Sugar Output Hike	27
Dailies for Remote Areas	27
Loyalty Pledge	27
Kenyans To Train in U.K.	27
Seychelles Sees No Kenyan Involvement	28
Akorino Followers Arrested	28
Livestock Owners Warned	28



## LESOTHO

Jonathan's Opponents Quieted, Links With Libya Alleged (Aida Parker; THE CITIZEN, 9, 10 Feb 82).....	30
---	----

## SEYCHELLES

SA Paper Reports Discord in Cabinet (Tim Clarke; THE CITIZEN, 12 Feb 82).....	34
--	----

## SOUTH AFRICA

Commentaries on Opening of Parliamentary Session Reported (SUNDAY TIMES, 31 Jan 82, THE STAR, 28 Jan, 1 Feb 82).....	35
Little Change Expected, by Ivor Wilkins 'In Spite of Its Faults, We Do Still Need Parliament', by David Welsh Impact of Steyn, Rabie Reports, Editorial 'Difficult Year Financially', Editorial	
Further Reportage of Steyn Commission's Press Legislation (Various sources, various dates).....	41
Impact on Companies, by Eugene Hugo, Stan Maher Reaction of PFP, NRP 'DIE TRANSVALER' Support Steyn: No Comment, by Chris Freimond	
Huge Overseas Loan for Soweto Council Negotiated (Lawrence Mayekiso; THE CITIZEN, 8 Feb 82).....	58
Variations of Nation's Political Mood Evaluated (Hermann Giliomee; RAND DAILY MAIL, 1 Feb 82).....	59
UN 'Persecution' of South Africa, Israel Hit (Editorial; THE CITIZEN, 8 Feb 82).....	61
Verwoerd's Concept of Separate Development Examined (Patrick Laurence; RAND DAILY MAIL, 29 Jan 82).....	63
Further Reportage on Rabie Commission's Security Legislation (RAND DAILY MAIL, 4 Feb 82).....	65
Professor Degenaar on Nature of Reforms Needed (Johan Degenaar; SUNDAY TIMES, 31 Jan 82).....	69
Sudden Transfer of Sebe's Right-Hand Man Reported (SUNDAY TIMES, 31 Jan 82).....	71
Expert Examines Legality of Bannings, Detention (Kevin Davie; SUNDAY TIMES, 31 Jan 82).....	72

Lawyers Urged To Debate Laws Restricting Liberty (Bob Davis; THE STAR, 1 Feb 82).....	74
Western Transvaal Farmers Ask for Security Fences (Norman Chandler; SUNDAY TIMES, 31 Jan 82).....	76
Collapse of Detainee Dr Liz Floyd Investigated (Cas St Leger; THE CITIZEN, 8 Feb 82).....	77
Improved Truck Utilization Proposed (Kerry Clarke; SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES, 31 Jan 82).....	79
Army Relieves Rand Colored Schools Teacher Shortage (Tyrone August; THE STAR, 28 Jan 82).....	82
Manufacturing Profits Outlook Darkening (John Spira; SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES, 31 Jan 82).....	83
Crude Steel Output Falls Off (THE STAR, 1 Feb 82).....	85
Possibility of SWAPO Victory in Namibia Examined (Paul Moorcraft; THE STAR, 1 Feb 82).....	86
Possible Merger of Fertilizer Firms Reported (SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES, 31 Jan 82, THE CITIZEN, 8 Feb 82).....	87
SASOL Diversification, by Andrew McNulty Fedmis, Triomf Talks, by Daan de Kock	
Cape Squatter Problem Considred Explosive (Editorial; THE STAR, 28 Jan 82).....	91
Group Areas Act Blamed for Black Housing Shortage (Yussuf Nazeer; THE STAR, 28 Jan 82).....	92
Establishment of Separate Black Universities Opposed (John Allen; THE STAR, 1 Feb 82).....	94
Briefs	
Gun Control Law	96
Inkatha To Contest Soweto Poll	96
SWAZILAND	
Briefs	
German Energy Aid	97

Party Congress Scheduled To Follow Overhaul (Tim Chigodo; THE HERALD, 5 Feb 82).....	98
'HERALD' Editor: SA Spies Have Infiltrated Our Forces (THE HERALD, 6 Feb 82).....	100
Mugabe Tells of Three-Year Move To Socialism (THE HERALD, 8 Feb 82).....	102
Mutasa Plans 'Revolution' in Resettlement (Rob Linden; THE HERALD, 9 Feb 82).....	103
Delay in Establishment of Diplomatic Posts Defended (Editorial; THE HERALD, 3 Feb 82).....	105
Printing Supply Firms Face Shortage of Supplies (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 29 Jan 82).....	106
Norway Promises To Help in Any Fuel Crisis (THE HERALD, 9 Feb 82).....	108
ZPC Tries To Bring State, Private Sector Closer (BUSINESS HERALD, 4 Feb 82).....	109
Ian Smith Hits Government Harassment of White Minority (THE CITIZEN, 12 Feb 82).....	110
Local, Foreign Businessmen Distrust Economic Situation (THE CITIZEN, 12 Feb 82).....	112
Discovery of Illegal Arms Awakens Fears (Editorial; THE HERALD, 8 Feb 82).....	113
'HERALD' Attacks Nkomo on Arms Stockpiles Denial (THE CITIZEN, 12 Feb 82).....	115
Journalist Claims Nkomo Interview Cause of His Expulsion (Aida Parker; THE CITIZEN, 11 Feb 82).....	116
Australians Seek To Increase Trade (BUSINESS HERALD, 4 Feb 82).....	117
GEC Helps Improve Skills Situation (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 29 Jan 82).....	118
Barclays Signs Loan Agreement With Government (BUSINESS HERALD, 4 Feb 82).....	120
ESCOM Faces Deadline on Ordering Generators (BUSINESS HERALD, 4 Feb 82).....	121

Validity of Merger of Textile Trade Unions Upheld (THE HERALD, 3 Feb 82).....	122
National Farmers Association Launches New Vernacular Magazine (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 29 Jan 82).....	123
Tobacco Merger Could Lead to Grower Control (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 29 Jan 82).....	124
Publications of Party Paper Scheduled Soon (THE HERALD, 6 Feb 82).....	125
Proud Year for Peasant Farmers, Says ZNFU Boss (THE HERALD, 8 Feb 82).....	126
Anglo-American Takes Firmer Grip on Sugar Industry (David Linsell; BUSINESS HERALD, 4 Feb 82).....	127
Two Major Mining Firms Offer Government Stakes in Operations (BUSINESS HERALD, 4 Feb 82).....	128
New Mining Legislation Said To Be 'Born of Mistrust' (Editorial; THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 29 Jan 82).....	129
Briefs	
New Army Chief	130
Mining Unions Merge	130
Exodus of Health Staff	130
Apolitical Bodies	131
Gwanzura Quits UANC	131
Belgian Trade Forum	131
Miners Prepare Constitution	131
Tea Seminar Delegation	132
Printing Plants	132
Convicted Man Flees	132

# HOW GERMANY PROMOTES AFRICA'S CULTURAL GROWTH

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 7 Jan 82 p 4

[Text]

Following is a speech by West German Minister of State Dr. Hildegard Hamm-Bruecher at the German Foundation for International Development.

THE cultural policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany towards the States of the Third World has undergone a fundamental change in the last few years.

Instead of, as it were, exporting our culture along a one-way street, it is now oriented towards equal exchanges between partners, towards giving and taking or — to use Goethe's words — "breathing in and breathing out".

Our cultural policy abroad bases its range of facilities in Africa, in particular, on the needs of your nations and that means to begin with: your cultural self-identity, your proposals and your interests.

During recent years, we have recognised more and more clearly that development policy and cultural policy towards other countries are closely interlinked and must therefore be co-ordinated more effectively with each other. This realisation has led to joint considerations by all the German departments involved. Our goal is to intensify the cultural dialogue between equal partners.

## Symposium

The 1980 symposium "Cultural Relations Throughout the World — A Bridge Across Frontiers" marked a first major step in this direction and it immediately achieved considerable success.

In recent years, we have not only redesigned our approach, but also substantially increased our financial contributions for promoting cultural relations with Third World countries:

In 1977, a sum of 405.3 million DM was spent on cultural relations with the Third World — including 94.3 million DM for Africa.

In 1978, the sum was 538.7 million DM for the Third World as a whole, including 118.3 million DM for Africa.

In 1979, this sum rose to 693.6 million DM for the Third World as a whole, including 141.7 million DM for Africa. Hence, Africa accounted during the three years in question for just

over 20 per cent of German expenditure on cultural relations with countries of the Third World. That is a truly gratifying result.

Germany's cultural interest in Africa and its cultural variety and colourfulness is not a manifestation of our current times. The over 100 years of traditional German African studies are marked by names such as Leo Frobenius and Heinrich Barth — to name but two men who devoted their lives to researching and disseminating the rich cultural heritage of Africa. Just as the then pioneers set out to

ensure that the European and the African cultural circles discovered and got to know each other so as to be able to enter into fruitful relations, so my country's cultural policy abroad would like to bring about a cultural dialogue and exchange on the basis of mutual respect and equal partnership.

We must succeed in accomplishing two things in our co-operation. On the one hand, we must bring about the necessary progress in their economic and technical development and, on the other hand, we must recognise more quickly than hitherto the cultural impact of co-operation in the field of development policy. The important thing is to observe the conflict between traditional culture and technical-economic progress and to assist our partners in maintaining and strengthening their own identity despite all the necessary economic development which has to take place.

The Federal Government has expressly taken into account this inter-relationship between cultural and economic development in its theses on the policy of co-operation with the developing countries of 9 July 1980. This policy is defined as follows:

"Development processes can jeopardise or destroy established social structures, beliefs and models of conduct in developing countries without putting new ones of equal value in their place. . . This can lead to an uprooting of people, to tensions and to identity crises. The Federal Government will endeavour in its co-operation under development policy to counteract any possible negative consequences of a change jointly recognised as being necessary.

"It is aware of the growing importance of general social and cultural conditions for the effectiveness of developmental measures and will attach greater importance to the treatment of these viewpoints in project planning and assessment.

"It promotes these efforts by co-operation on a basis of partnership



and will increase its support in this regard in particular within the framework of its foreign cultural policy".

The Federal Government's cultural policy abroad rests on a wide concept of culture which — as I once expressed it — "covers all fields which make up the life of mankind". It also proceeds from the given socio-cultural realities in our partner countries and incorporates these as much as possible within their programmes.

This approach may be incorporated within our general African goals, namely:

- The promotion of political, economic and cultural independence;
- Overcoming residual colonialism and racial discrimination through negotiated solutions and through peaceful reforms; and
- The creation of a counterweight to resist the attempts by non-African powers to use conflicts in Africa to create zones of influence.

## Cornerstones

If we proceed from these cornerstones of our African policy, the following priorities may be discerned for our cultural co-operation: In all the young States of Africa, we are endeavouring to contribute to the strengthening of national identity by cultural means. This includes help in compiling, opening up and maintaining your cultural heritage. Moreover, we also help our African partners if they wish to present their cultural achievements in our country.

In this context, they ought to define their cultural goals themselves and to translate these into concrete programmes.

How is this postulate translated into concrete measures?

To begin with we have created a new fund known as the "Cultural Assistance Fund" designed to support developing countries' measures for "compiling, opening up and maintaining their cultural heritage". This year, a sum of one and a half million DM and in 1982 a sum of 2.2 million DM will be available for these goals. In view of the large number of potential projects throughout the world and the diversity of the threatened cultural heritage of the nations concerned, the Federation Government must of course carry out a selection based above all on the given financial possibilities.

Let me quote a few examples to illustrate those projects which we have promoted in African countries this year:

- MALI: the Sahel exhibition orga-

nised by the Bremen Overseas Museum in Bamako;

- RWANDA: the training of an archivist;

•CAMEROON: Promotion of a documentation on Cameroonian artefacts;

•NIGER: Palaeontological excavations by the Senckenberg Museum at places where saurians have been found;

•Madagascar: Donations in kind for an artists' school;

•CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: A donation in kind for a museum;

The following projects are planned for 1981/82:

•Tanzania: Training of an archivist for the National Archives;

•Upper Volta: The posting there of a German expert on museum questions;

•Zimbabwe: Presentation of an African musical.

Another priority in our new approach is co-operation in the educational sector. The educational structures in the sub-Saharan countries of Africa are, in some cases, still poorly developed. The school attendance rates there are still very low. For that reason, we would like to help in achieving progress in this field. We regard this as a common task for development policy and our cultural policy abroad as well as within the framework of international organisations.

The following sectors are conceivable:

### a. In the SCHOOL SECTOR:

•The promotion of school out-of school programmes of basic education, notably within the framework of integrated rural developmental measures;

•Use of mass media for programmes of basic education and adult training;

•Promotion of programmes of basic and advanced training for teachers at schools and in extra-curricular fields;

•Support in the development of curricula and in the establishment of curriculum centres;

•Assistance with the equipping for schools (provision of the most basic teaching and learning materials), promotion of the production and distribution of one's own material (in particular of school books);

•Vocation-oriented measures of education and training can and should be provided from the very

beginning in all rural and industrial developmental projects;

•Support for regional co-operation by developing countries in the field of education.

### b. in the university and science sectors

Hand in hand with primary education, the elimination of illiteracy and the provision of vocational training, there is a need in every economic and social development process for a gradual expansion of scientific and technological capacities.

As a result, developing countries must also endeavour in good time to expand their indigenous research and teaching facilities in order to promote their own developmental process and to be able to participate in international scientific processes of communication. However, it has proved to be dangerous and harmful to pursue a preferential promotion of universities and at the same time to neglect mass education.



# RACIAL CONFLICT THREAT AT MINE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Feb 82 p 8

[Text]

GABARONE. — Employers and employees of the Jwaneng diamond mine, about 200 km southwest of Gaborone, have been told that the Botswana Government is concerned about incidents of racial conflict which have occurred at the mine.

Issuing a strong warning to both expatriates and locals, the Botswana Minister of Information and Public Service, Mr Daniel Kwalagobe cautioned that unless incidents were nipped in the bud, they could easily get out of hand, and cause permanent damage to race relations, not only in Jwaneng, but throughout Botswana.

Mr Kwalagobe, who is also the secretary general of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party, said the Government was prepared to take drastic action against anyone

who was not prepared to abide by Botswana's non-racial policies, "no matter how valuable their skills are to the development of our country."

Mr Kwalagobe also pointed out that a fair share of the blame "must also go to our own people, some of whom are just as much to blame as some of the expatriates for causing racial tension in the country.

"In enforcing these laws and policies we shall make no distinction between expatriates and locals," he said.

Mr Kwalagobe also condemned the practice of "fronting", whereby he explained, foreigners got citizens of Botswana to act as fronts for them in various businesses.

He said through this system local people purchased residential and commercial plots and passed them on to foreigners.

This is a deplorable practice which goes against all the efforts which the Government is making to help Botswana citizens," he said.

CSO: 4700/715

## ONAMU'S SUSPENSION FROM KANU IS SUPPORTED

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 p 2

[Text]

A FORMER Deputy Mayor of Nakuru, Mr. Stephen M. Ogondi, has said that peace-loving people of Hamisi in Kakamega District will not allow a few disgruntled politicians to divide them for their own selfish ends.

In a signed statement, Mr. Ogondi said he fully supports the decision taken by Hamisi Kanu sub-branch to suspend the M.P. for the area, Mr. James Onamu, from the ruling party, and called on Kakamega Kanu district branch to endorse the decision.

Mr. Ogondi said that through misguided anti-nyayo activities along the Kakamega-Nandi border by some leaders, innocent *wananchi* had lost their lives and property.

Pledging his full loyalty to President Daniel arap Moi, Mr. Ogondi appealed to the Government to arrest all the culprits and bring them to book for their "murderous actions".

## Politicians

Luhya and Nandi people had always lived peacefully as brothers and sisters until the disgruntled politicians came on the scene, Mr. Ogondi said.

The M.P.'s suspension was announced in a statement issued early this week by the Chairman of Hamisi Kanu sub-branch, Mr. Samson M'Maitso, the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Daniel Aduviga, and an executive member, Mr. Cullen Igani.

The move to suspend Mr. Onamu was taken at a sub-branch executive committee meeting.

It was understood the executive committee had already forwarded its suspension recommendation to the district branch chairman for action.

The chairman of the branch, Mr. Moses Mudavadi, who is also the Minister for Water Development, was not available for comment immediately.

Addressing a huge rally at Tindinvo Catholic Mission, Nandi District, on Monday, President Moi warned Mr. Onamu to stop inciting Luhya and Nandis in the areas where there have been recent clashes.

KANU Secretary General, Mr. Robert Matano, who is also the Minister for Co-operative Development, declined to comment on the matter, saying he would do so after receiving official communication from the Kakamega branch.

Meanwhile, Mr. Onamu has

said in a signed statement that he hoped to see the President.

At the Tindinvo rally, the President warned the M.P. that if he had been given money to stir up trouble in the area, he should stop forthwith or else the CID and the Special Branch would be set on him.

Saying the M.P. should look after the affairs of his constituency, the President said the Luhya living in Nandi were under the Nandi D.C. and their lives and property would be safeguarded.

The interest of Luhya in this area is the interest of the Nandis, and it is also the interest of the Government to see they are protected.

## KANU BRANCH WILL DISCIPLINE UNRULY MEMBERS

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 7 Jan 82 p 5

[Text] KANU South Nyanza District Branch has warned it will take stern measures against any individuals or leaders who tried to spoil the good name of the party in the area.

This move was taken during a special branch meeting held at Homa Bay and presided over by the Chairman, Mr. David Okiki Amayo.

The meeting further resolved it would not hesitate to expel any leader who encouraged divisive politics and engaged in soiling the name of the ruling party.

The meeting, which was attended by the Branch officials, called on the leaders to respect the party and that the necessary measures would be taken to instil discipline within the party.

The party branch Assistant Secretary, Coun. Eliab Ojoo, outlined the branch programmes which included the launching of afforestation scheme where the party youths would be involved.

A number of plans have also been drawn up for raising funds in aid of the party, he added.

He emphasised that the branch was committed to providing better leadership which was in line with President Daniel arap Moi's "Nyayo" philosophy.

On party membership drive, Coun. Ojoo disclosed that last year over 7,000 people enrolled as ordinary party members and some of them became life members.

The recommendation by the central division Kanu Sub-branch to suspend Homa Bay M.P., Mr. Aluoch Kanindo was deferred to another meeting scheduled for January 18 when the branch will discuss the matter.

The branch decided that any leader who will tarnish the ruling party's name or entertain outside politics to divide wananchi will be expelled from the party and relieved of his duties, KNA adds.

Calling upon such "bent leaders to respect the party and its officials', the branch assistant secretary told KNA that the meeting also resolved that the party's role of providing good leadership would be put into action, based on President Moi's cardinal principles of peace, love and unity.

The Homa Bay meeting was attended by the branch Vice-Chairman, Councillor Elisha Akech Chieng', the Secretary who is also an Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Alphonse Okuku, the Secretary, Kanu women win, Mrs. Gogo Ochok and the Executive Officer, Mr. Philimon Wire.

CSO: 4700/710

# KUGURU RESIGNS HIS NYERI CO-OPS POST

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 3

[Text]

AN Assistant Minister in the Office of the President, Mr. D. N. Kuguru, who is also the M.P. for Mathira, yesterday resigned from his chairmanship of the Nyeri District Co-operative Union.

The Assistant Minister also simultaneously resigned as the Chairman of Mathira Coffee and Dairy societies, which form the nucleus of the powerful Mathira Co-operative Society with a membership of about 19,000.

Mr. Kuguru made the announcement in Nyeri yesterday at a Press conference.

He also announced the resignation of the Nyeri District Co-operative Union's vice-chairman, Senior Chief Patrick Munyingi, who tendered his resignation on January 1, 1982.

The resignation follows President Moi's call late last year to politicians and civil servants to pull out of the co-operative movement.

Mr. Kuguru, however, expressed fear over the life of the District Union, saying that with its 22 affiliates already dead, three under commission management and the Tetu Society's threats to pull out of the union, there was not much hope for the

union's survival.

Mr. Kuguru expressed regret at leaving the posts, saying that under his leadership, the coffee societies had grown stronger over the years with a current membership of 19,000 and a Shs. 15 million operating capital.

Also expected to resign are the vice-chairman of Nyeri County Council, Coun. John Gatua, who was the Mathira Co-operative Society's Treasur-

er, a Ministry of Agriculture Technical Assistant, a member of the society's management committee, Mr. James Muriithi, and Chief Paul Ngari Murigo of Magutu, who was the Secretary of Mathira Dairy Society.

KNA reports that Mr. Kuguru also said he would continue helping the co-operative movement in the district even after his resignation because "I had just started reviving the dying movement".

CSO: 4700/710

## UNSCRUPULOUS BROKERS, AUCTIONEERS RAPPED

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Unnecessary Harassment"]

[Text]

WHEN dealing with other people's property, the temptation to take a casual attitude or to turn it to one's advantage, is always there. This is why one of the key elements emphasised in preparation for service, be it in the public or the private sector, is respect for that which does not belong to you.

It would seem that something is wrong with the way auctioneers treat other people's goods in the cause of their work. The reason may be that property comes the auctioneers way in situations of distress, when those involved are not in a position to properly defend themselves.

The Kisumu senior resident magistrate, Mr. D. K. S. Aganyanya, has had to warn courtbrokers against the misuse of court orders for their own selfish ends. He said there were some courtbrokers who attached large properties and sold them at low prices to their friends.

It is even possible that unscrupulous brokers and auctioneers only use their friends to hold such property in trust for them and that they are the actual buyers — something which is blatantly illegal.

On a number of occasions some of them have appeared before the courts on charges of illegal dealings in property which is in their hands on trust, including outright theft. This unfortunately also spoils the names of the many among them who carry out their business in an honest manner.

Another development of late is the way some of the brokers go about executing their duties. Armed with court orders, some of them seem to relish causing hardships and embarrassment to debtors. It is a most painful thing for a person to return home only to find that his household effects have been carted away in his absence, without being given the slightest chance to make good the debt.

Occasions have arisen where although a perfectly legal order is being carried out, the manner of doing it appears suspiciously malicious. This has especially happened where it involves people in prominent positions. The motive appears to be to ridicule them in the eyes of the public.

Such criticism of the way some brokers go about their duties does not mean that people should not pay their debts. Those in prominent position should be the ones to set a good example, but there is always a decent way of enforcing the law.

As the country progresses, more and more people will resort to the courts of law to collect outstanding debts and the work of courtbrokers will increase accordingly. There is a case therefore for establishing a code of ethics and professional conduct among brokers and auctioneers.

It is not right that they should be seen to be carrying out their duties in a malicious or an unfair manner. One way of doing this is to establish certain minimum qualifications and character vetting for those who are licensed to engage in this business. This happens in most other professions, especially those directly involved in handling property on trust.

In this way, few auctioneers and brokers would risk losing their professional standing by engaging in questionable activities. Auctioneers and courtbrokers would do well to form an effective association of their own to act as a watchdog over the behaviour of individual members in the performance of this necessary and at times highly misunderstood job.

This is the only way to weed out those who are tarnishing the name of the business.



## PRICES OF CHEMICALS TOO HIGH IS CLAIM

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 8

[Article by Kul Bhushan]

[Text]

THE COST of chemicals in Kenya is astronomical compared with the international market. Some of these prices are purely artificial, Mr. Raphael M. Munavu of the Department of Chemistry at the Nairobi University has said.

In a paper on Kenya's Chemical Industry, he said: "Consumers in Kenya are often not aware of the fact that periodic shortages of consumer goods may be the result of artificial shortages of chemicals created by the distributing monopolies in order to raise chemical prices.

Mr. Munavu noted that the prevailing state of affairs in Kenya's chemical industry had resulted from the fact that the major chemical factories are owned or managed by foreign companies or multinationals.

He said their grip on industry had created a cloud of mystique which continued to survive the storms of Kenyanisation or Africanisation.

Mr. Munavu said the intricate ownership of this industry had hindered the development and utilisation of cheaper and equally good raw materials since more money was apparently made through import deals in which the local company imported raw materials from its mother company.

He also noted that the wholly

locally owned processing companies had to import technology which ended up tying them to one foreign supplier. He said the local company was consequently deprived of selective buying which came from competitive pricing and service delivery. He maintained the Kenyan chemical industry was at the mercy of foreign producers of raw materials and technology.

He said trade in imported and repackaged chemicals was a brisk business in Kenya. "This trade is monopolised by a few locally incorporated — owned — companies which have established an impenetrable network of understanding among themselves," Mr. Munavu noted.

He asserted that it was almost impossible for a local person to enter the trade and survive long enough to tell the story.

The few local people who have ventured have had to enter into compromising working arrangements with the existing importers and suppliers to survive since the finances required to import the chemicals are not easy to come by, he said.

Mr. Munavu said chemical manufacturing contributes about 20 per cent of all earnings in the manufacturing activities in Kenya. The basic industrial chemicals showed an annual growth of almost 19 per cent in 1979-1980.

He also noted that if some of the non-metallic minerals of Kenya were processed locally, they could become a basis for a major inorganic chemical complex in Kenya.

# E.E.C. PROVIDES AID FOR KENYA'S ENERGY PROJECTS

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 8

[Article by Kul Bhushan]

[Text] The European Economic Community (EEC) may finance energy schemes in Kenya following talks on December 17 in Brussels between EEC Commission officials and an official from the technical division of Kenya's Ministry of Energy.

Some Shs. 272 million aid from the European Development Fund has been earmarked for schemes in Kenya's energy sector.

According to informed sources, Kenya is particularly interested in EEC funding for the Takwel hydroelectric power and irrigation scheme. A prefeasibility study was been carried out and further studies are needed.

The EEC may contribute funds to these studies. The whole project, which is estimated at current prices to cost \$90 million will need co-financing. Norway and the World Bank have expressed interest in the scheme.

Another hydroelectric scheme, the Kamburu Dam, is ready although some technical aspects still need rectifying.

Kenya is also interested in EEC funds for this. The Masinga Dam which was partly financed by the EEC was recently opened by President Daniel arap Moi.

Kenya is also carrying out exploration for geothermal sources of energy and is interested in EEC backing. A 15-MW geothermal power station in the Rift Valley is already in operation and Kenya aims to build two more units.

CSO: 4700/710

NAUDI, KAKAMEGA DISTRICT BORDERS REPORTED QUIET

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 pp 1, 20

[Article by James Kuria: "Peace Prevails, Says D.C."]

[Text] The Nandi and Kakamega district borders, recently the scene of bloody clashes between the Luhyas and Nandis, was yesterday reported to be returning to normal as people who had fled were flocking back to reconstruct their homes.

Nandi D.C. Mr. James Ndegwa told "THE STANDARD" in a telephone interview yesterday that the situation was calm and was steadily returning to normal.

After President Daniel arap Moi's visit to the area early this week, Mr. Ndegwa said, "wananchi" were now peaceful and the hostility that existed between the two tribes "is now a thing of the past."

Mr. Ndegwa added that a number of people who had taken refuge at the Tindinyo Mission had left the area and were now rebuilding their burned houses to resettle.

The D.C. said the contingent of GSU and regular police who were deployed in the area were still around keeping surveillance "but they will be pulled out as soon as possible."

He called on the "wananchi" to heed President Moi's advice of living like brothers and sisters and adhere to the dynamic philosophy of peace, love and unity.

Mr. Ndegwa disclosed that the Kokwet (land elders) committee had been set up to look into the land disputes involving the two tribes as directed by President Moi.

During last Monday's meeting, President Moi warned Western Province politicians to stop interfering forthwith in Nandi District affairs.

President Moi in particular sounded a harsh warning to Hamisi M.P., Mr. James Onamu, to stop stirring up tribal hostility between the Luhyas and the Nandis.

The President cautioned the culprits: "If I hear there have been further clashes, you as a politician will go to prison not because of political reasons, but because of inciting people to violence".

Addressing a huge rally at Tindinyo Mission, President Moi noted that the clashes had brought shame and were anti-Nyayo.

President Moi said that leaders who were inciting "wananchi" were leaders of darkness.

CSO: 4700/710

UNIVERSITY UNION THREATENS ACTION

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 7

[Text]

THE 4,200 unionised employees of the University of Nairobi have threatened to take industrial action against the administration unless their new terms of service are implemented by the end of this month.

The chief shop-steward of the Domestic and Hotel Workers Union, Nairobi University branch, Mr. Tera Aduda, said in a Press statement yesterday that the delay was being caused by the union and the University authorities.

He said if the new terms of service, which have been negotiated for the last two years, were not implemented soon, the staff would "definitely" take action.

Mr. Aduda said the new terms were negotiated jointly between the University, eight employees, representatives of Federation of Kenya Employers, the Ministry of Labour and the union.

He accused the University administration of refusing to sign the new terms agreement, thereby causing hardships to the employees. He also said the employees wanted to know what had caused the delay.

He said the employees wanted their terms of service to be based on the Waruhiu and the Asijo commissions.

Some of the terms the employees are demanding are revised house allowance and new salaries. They are pressing that employees on grade "A" should get Shs. 240 and "B" Shs. 280 per month as house allowance.

Mr. Aduda said that during the negotiations, the University administration which was represented by the Deputy Registrar had agreed to the new terms.

CSO: 4700/710

## BANK WILL LOAN FARMERS SHS 160 MILLION

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Welcome Gift for Farmers"]

[Text]

SMALL-SCALE farmers and industrialists have been given an appropriate New Year gift. They will benefit from Shs. 160 million in the form of loans to be advanced to them by the Kenya Commercial Bank.

The money is the result of a joint effort by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (O.P.E.C.) which contributed Shs. 30 million, the International Finance Corporation (I.F.C.) which loaned Shs. 50 million and the Kenya Commercial Bank, which came up with the rest of the money.

The loans will be in support of the Government's effort to promote rural development by assisting farmers towards better land utilisation. They are also intended to promote the development of small-scale industries in the rural areas.

Some sound advice was given to farmers and industrialists during the signing of the loan agreement by the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Harry Mule, and the Chairman of the Kenya Commercial Bank, Mr. Philip Ndegwa.

Expressing the determination of his bank to help small-scale farmers and businessmen, Mr. Ndegwa underscored the need for local financial institutions to boost the country's economy. There was also the need for the mass media to help in educating wamanchi on the kind of support they can obtain from financiers.

This is a valid point. There are thousands of creditworthy and hard working people especially in the rural areas, who have not made use of the borrowing opportunities available simply because they do not know how.

Banks, of course, have a responsibility to make such facilities known to the people. But this only applies to the main banks with country-wide operations. There are many other banks and financial institutions, both foreign-owned and local, which operate mainly in Nairobi. They concentrate their financing activities in the main industrial and commercial sectors and rarely reach out to the rural areas.

While this may well be the best policy in general due to their size and nature of operations, there is no reason why viable concerns in the rural areas should not benefit from available funds.

With the adoption of a National Food Policy and the Government determination to make the country self-sufficient in its food requirements, farmers should use the most productive methods.

This will often entail the purchase of farm equipment, some of which are beyond the reach of their modest resources but which they can acquire and comfortably pay for over a period of time. The special concessionary terms that loans such as the ones envisaged here will be most welcome.

Such financing arrangements should also be read in conjunction with the actions that the Government is taking in the agricultural sector. The producer prices of all major crops and livestock commodities have been substantially boosted since Jamhuri Day.

There is a clear demonstration of the Government's commitment to making farming viable, attractive and profitable. It is now up to the people to complement these efforts through hard work and the application of those techniques that will give the highest yields.



## MANUFACTURERS LOOK FOR GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 p 8

[Article by Kul Bhushan]

[Text]

BETTER understanding is expected in 1982 between Kenya's private sector and the Government as a result of the Industrial Consultative Committee, according to the Kenya Association of Manufacturers.

The committee, set up by the President in February 1981, has five members from the Government and nine from the private sector.

Speaking to *The Standard*, the Chief Executive of the Kenya Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Tom Tyrell, said good progress had been made in creating better understanding between the two sectors in 1981.

Even closer relationship was expected in the new year on key issues, such as import control and import licensing procedures.

Despite the continuing shortage of foreign exchange, he hoped for a general improvement in the new year in the industrial sector.

Among the things which need to be corrected were the slow payment to farmers to ease the liquidity situation, he said.

He did not expect a major economic upturn in 1982, but a gradual improvement in second half of the year. Very definite indications were available for the return of industrial growth and general upturn of the economy in the new year, he said.

The investment atmosphere had improved in Kenya as result of the knowledge that the Industrial Consultative Committee had been formed both for local and overseas investors, Mr. Tyrell said.

Asked to comment if the recent price increases would reduce demand for manufactured goods and cause higher inflation, Mr. Tyrell said the increases had to take place. The producers could not be expected to go on producing if their costs went up and it was vital to get a fair return quickly, he said.

He said reflation could be helpful for Kenya.

There was not enough money for all the goods produced in the local industry, which was set up mostly to supply a much wider market in Eastern Africa.

Thus local industry had a difficult 1981, and the new year could also prove to be a difficult one as the border with Tanzania was still closed, he said.

CSO: 4700/710

DO NOT SPREAD HATRED, LEADERS ARE TOLD

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 p 9

[Text] Leaders in Kinakomba Location, Tana River District, who spread hatred among the "wananchi", would be severely dealt with, the Chief for the area, Mr. Salim Magunia, said when he addressed a "baraza" at Majengo Village

He said it was unfortunate that while some leaders were fighting against tribalism, others encouraged it.

He said such actions were not in tune with the Nyayo Government whose objective was to build a stable nation by uniting the "Wananchi".

Mr. Magunia advised husbands to allow their wives to attend adult education to reduce illiteracy.

The Chief appealed to the local people to prepare for a big funds-drive in aid of all primary schools in the location to be held soon.

Lamu D.C., Mr. Ben Makosewe, has banned movement of livestock at night in Lamu District in an effort to curb stock theft.

Addressing a "baraza" at Witu, the D.C. criticised local people who sympathised with known criminals.

He disclosed that a local rancher at Witu had employed a herdsman who was known to have led raids in the village some years back.

The D.C. said that the Stock Theft Unit would be deployed in the area if rustling did not stop.

The local people should not complain when this move was taken, he said.

He repeated his call for ranchers to apply for permits to own firearms to guard against stock theft.

Lamu West M.P., Mr. Omar Cheka, also addressed the "baraza".

CSO: 4700/710

## NAUDI-LUHIA CONFLICT REPORTED UNDER CONTROL

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 5

[Text]

THE Minister for Water Development, who is also M.P. for Vihiga, Mr. Moses Mudavadi, has appealed to Luhyas who ran away from their homes during the recent Nandi-Luhya conflict to go back to their respective homes as the situation is now under control.

Mr. Mudavadi said this over the weekend when he addressed a large public rally at Mbale in Maragoli, Kakamega District.

He said the Government, under the leadership of President Daniel arap Moi, projects the lives of its citizens and their property and therefore there should be no fear that whoever returns to his home might be molested. He said the situation at the Nandi-Kakamega border was now back to normal.

Assuring such people of full Government protection, the Minister said those returning home should report to their chiefs or District Officers so that in case of any problem, they can be assisted.

He said that anybody who had valid information pertaining to recent clashes in the Nandi District should give it to the Government officers instead of engaging in rumour mongering.

On education, Mr. Mudavadi blasted lazy teachers who wasted time in schools instead of coaching their pupils. He said some primary school teachers who taught near their schools could not even get to their schools on time and were always late, a fact

that affected pupils' performance at school. He called on teachers to ensure pupils pass C.P.E. and qualify to join Government secondary schools.

The Minister also blasted hooligans in the area who recently cut telephone wires. The Government will not leave such culprits to molest innocent wananchi, he added.

The meeting resolved to support President Moi's efforts to end the Nandi-Luhya conflict and said that "anybody who incites tribal clashes is not a true 'Nyayo' follower". The meeting also unanimously supported the President's endeavours to bring peace to Kenya and the entire continent of Africa as O.A.U. Chairman.

Meanwhile, the Kamukamega District Branch has not received any communication from its Hamisi sub-branch regarding the reported suspension of the M.P. for the area, Mr. James H. Onamu.

CSO: 4700/710

## MOMBASA TO GET MODERN FIRE-FIGHTING EQUIPMENT

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 9

[Text]

MOMBASA Municipal Council Fire Brigade is to get modern fire-fighting equipment soon in order to adequately deal with all fire incidents which may occur within the town.

Announcing this yesterday, Mombasa Mayor, Councillor Rajab Sumba, said this would improve the current services offered by the brigade.

He assured the brigade team that funds would be made available to recruit more drivers who will help the two drivers currently engaged in driving eight brigade ambulances.

Mayor Sumba called on the brigade staff to be more disciplined and warned that stern action will be taken against drivers found carrying passengers in municipal ambulances.

Speaking on the same occasion, the Municipal Fire Officer, Mr. Ali Surur, said the brigade urgently needed new equipment, fire engines and recreational facilities for the staff.

Mr. Surur further said the present fire-fighting suits for the brigade were not modern and the firemen could not use them

during operations on fires involving toxic and poisonous compounds.

He appealed to the council to avail scholarships to firemen to study fire operations in developed countries so that Mombasa Municipality could keep abreast of modern fire-fighting techniques.

Mr. Surur called on the council to ensure that more access roads were constructed so that in event of fire in any of the estates, firemen could reach it without fail.

Present during the function where the fire brigade demonstrated fire-fighting skills at the fire station were Deputy Mayor Ahmed Mwidani and other councillors. Mayor Sumba presented certificates of merit to the brigade firemen.

CSO: 4700/710

# FIRE DESTROYS SECTION OF AMERICAN MISSION WAREHOUSE

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 p 20

[Text]

A SECTION of the American Mission warehouse complex situated on Enterprise Road in Nairobi's Industrial Area was yesterday afternoon completely destroyed by a big fire.

All goods in the warehouse including new furniture were reduced to ashes.

The fire is believed to have started in a rubbish pit on the night of New Year's eve. It is said to have spread from the pit to the warehouse by catching nearby dry grass, pieces of paper and wood piled along the warehouse's wall.

The Nairobi Fire Brigade arrived at the scene within minutes of the fire outbreak but ran out of water. However, they managed to stop the fire from spreading to the other warehouse with the help of extra fire trucks.

Among those present at the scene of the fire were the Provincial Police Officer, Mr. Munene Muhindi, the area's Officer Commanding Police Division, Mr. Muthua, and the Head of the American Embassy's Security, Mr. Chick Runner.

Speaking to the K.N.A. after the fire was brought under control, Mr. Munene said that the fire could have been better controlled if there had been enough water. He asked the Nairobi City Council to look into the

water problem as it was becoming common when there were outbreaks of fire.

Mr. Munene ruled out any sabotage motives. "It was purely an accident", he said.

Mr. Runner said that it was difficult to give the value of the items destroyed until the American officials get the files of the items stored in the destroyed warehouse and work out the costs.

CSO: 4700/710

## PARASTATAL UNIONS FORM CONSULTATIVE BODY

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 6 Jan 82 p 2

[Text]

**FOUR UNIONS** have formed a permanent consultative body aimed at catering more effectively for the interests of the workers in parastatal organisations.

The four are the Railways and Harbours Union, the Transport and Allied Workers Union, the Union of Posts and Telecommunications Employees and the Kenextel Worker's Union.

The secretaries general of the four unions agreed to the formation of the body following a day-long meeting at Kenextel House yesterday.

Addressing the Press later, their spokesman, Mr. Ali Mohamed of the Posts and Telecommunication Union, said the Waruhiu Report had brought a number of complications regarding the collective bargaining machinery between the four unions and the parastatal organisations.

Mr. Mohamed said the new body would advise and consult the parastatal organisations on all common matters affecting the four unions in respect of their working relations.

He said the Waruhiu Report had made recommendations which were contrary to the Trade Disputes Act and as such some parastatal bodies were now deviating from the laid down industrial relations machinery.

Mr. Mohamed said it had become difficult to negotiate with parastatal bodies because of the formation of the Parastatal Bodies Advisory Committee.

"We do not know the exact employer of the workers in the parastatal bodies and therefore we appeal to the real employer to come out in the open so that we can deal with him", Mr. Mohamed said.

He further said that whereas it was the wish of the unions to perpetuate industrial peace and understanding in parastatal bodies, the unions strongly felt the present confusion regarding negotiations for terms and conditions of service should be removed.

He said if the confusion was allowed to continue, in the long run it would bring industrial strife.

CSO: 4700/710



## GOVERNMENT THREATENS STEPS TO END CHURCH WRANGLES

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 6 Jan 82 p 3

[Text]

**CHURCH** leaders in Kisumu District have been warned that unless they stop wrangles the Government would take stern measures against them.

Sounding the warning recently at a Maseno leaders' conference which was also attended by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Robert Ouko, Kisumu District Commissioner, Mr. Maurice Makhani, said the Government was aware of what was happening in some churches in the district.

"Many religious leaders in certain churches have misunderstandings over leadership and we are aware that some are fighting for leadership because of money," Mr. Makhani said.

He noted that church wrangles between leaders were retarding development in the area as they divided the *wananchi*.

The DC wondered how people supposed to lead others in religious affairs could be fighting among themselves.

Mr. Makhani said he had received reports from Abero and Seme that some church leaders had prevented other members from attending church services. He cautioned the leaders that the Government could ban any society whose activities were seen as a danger to the community.

"Church doors," the D.C. observed, "should be opened to all", adding that any problems arising in the church should be solved in harmony.

Dr. Ouko, who is also the area M.P., asked religious leaders to pray for peace and unity in the country. He also added that they should pray for President Daniel arap Moi's continued good

health.

The meeting which was attended by various religious leaders resolved to stop church rows and instead devote their efforts in praying for peace in the country.

Coun. Oyugi Anya from West Seme accused some church leaders of the Anglican Church in the area for dividing people.

The leader of the Holy Coptic Church of Africa based in Kisumu urged religious leaders to stop their wrangles and lead their followers peacefully.

He asked the D.C. to check on unregistered religious sects in the district which, he claimed, were causing a lot of confusion in the area.

He caused laughter when he alleged that other church leaders bribed people in other churches to lure them to their churches. He cautioned the leaders against "adultery" and other evils.

A Muslim religious leader in the area asked the D.C. to take stern action against religious leaders who were dividing the *wananchi* as that retarded development. He said he did not understand why the leaders should quarrel over religious affairs as all prayed to one God.

## COUNTY EMPLOYEES GO UNPAID FOR THREE MONTHS

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 6 Jan 82 p 5

[Text] NZOIA County Council employees have not received their pay for the last three months.

Sources close to the council claimed that although the Local Government Minister had approved an overdraft of Shs. 300,000 for salaries from the council's bankers in Kitale, the money had not yet been released.

The sources said the overdraft was approved in mid-December, and since then, council officials led by the chairman, Coun. David Bett, had tried in vain to convince the bank's management to release the money.

Protesting at the bank's refusal to release the money, council employees have asked why the money has been withheld while they continue to suffer.

They said most of the employees and councillors had savings accounts with the bank and claimed that whenever their officials approached the management to secure the money, they were told to "come tomorrow".

Hardest hit are the lower-paid workers who do not have other sources of income and have many other debts to clear such as house rent, water and electricity bills.

The employees complained they had not been getting their pay in time as the council lacked proper sources of revenue.

Council sources said the frequent delay of salaries stemmed from the fact that the council had no proper sources of revenue. Early last year, the council recommended a cess on various farm produce, but the Ministerial approval which had been pending ever since, had allegedly deprived the council of the cess as the major source of revenue.

CSO: 4700/710

STATE TO SPEND SHS 60M ON WATER SUPPLY

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 2

[Text]

THE Government is to spend Shs. 60 million to supply water to Gitugi location and the lower parts of Kangema division bordering Kiharu division in Murang'a District.

Disclosing this over the weekend, Higher Education Minister, Mr. Joseph Kamotho, who is also the M.P. for Kangema, urged the area wananchi to support and co-operate with the Water Department while working on this project.

Mr. Kamotho, who was addressing a public rally at Gitugi market, praised the Kangema people for maintaining peace and steady progress in the division urging them to keep the same spirit this year.

The Minister, however, criticised some people in the area who he said spread rumours and gossip aimed at discouraging the wananchi from participating in the development of the area.

Earlier, the divisional development committee under the chairmanship of the Kangema District Officer, Mr. John Mwaura, congratulated Mr. Kamotho for his tireless efforts in Kangema which had made the division progress steadily.

The committee members also lashed at a few people in the area who smoked bhang and brewed chang'aa. Such people, the committee said, were giving the division a bad image to the outsiders. They commended police and the wananchi for assisting in tracking down the bhang hawkers and chang'aa brewers.

The meeting also pledged loyalty to President Moi, the Government and the ruling party Kanu, and vowed to continue to support the President in all his endeavours in promoting peace, love and unity in Kenya and Africa as a whole.

CSO: 4700/710

# RIOT POLICE BREAK UP FARM CO-OP ELECTION

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 5

[Text] Thousands of Igembe Farmers Co-operative Society members in Meru district were dispersed by police clad in riot gear during abortive elections for new office bearers.

The elections by the 20,600-strong society were to have been held at Maua township under the supervision of Meru District Co-operative officials.

The union elections were, however postponed indefinitely by the area D.O., Mr. Edward Njenga, and thousands of members were chased away by police.

Earlier, the Deputy Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Urban Development, Mr. E. K. Mbaabu, the outgoing chairman, had announced his resignation.

Others who tendered their resignations included an Assistant Culture and Social Services Minister, Mr. Jackson Kalweo, an assistant chief and a councillor, leaving only one official, Mr. Justus M'Rithara in office.

The trouble started when society members alleged that all the outgoing office bearers, in a bid to retain influence in the society, had sponsored candidates-- a move which farmers said was tantamount to imposing leaders on them.

K.N.A. reporters at the scene learned that the procedures adopted had many loopholes in that queues formed on locational basis allowed people to vote repeatedly.

The D.O. immediately ordered everybody to leave.

The co-operative officials told K.N.A. they would organise fresh elections later, based on the existing coffee factories instead of having a "general election".

Eighteen people who held various positions in Kiambu co-operative unions and societies have tendered their resignations following the recent Presidential directive that politicians, civil servants and members of the Teachers Service Commission must relinquish their posts.

They included 12 teachers, four assistant chiefs and two councillors.

CSO: 4700/710

RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE PRODUCED MORE COFFEE IN 1980

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 5

[Text] There was a big increase in the production of coffee in the Rift Valley Province during the year 1980, according to the Provincial Director of Agriculture's annual report for the same year just released.

A total of 3,153 tonnes of coffee were marketed during the period realising K£3,037,816 compared to 2,076 tonnes which fetched K£499,937 in the previous year (1979).

The Director, Mr. T. K. Tuei, says in the report that the success of coffee farming could be attributed to the greater efforts by farmers in improving their farms, more intensified extension service by staff, increased support from other Government departments and private agencies.

On tea, Mr. Tuei says that although the weather pattern was quite unpredictable in the first quarter of the year, the Kenya Tea Development Authority (KTDA) growers managed to plant 278.6 hectares of new tea during the period.

He says leaf production was adversely affected during the first and last quarter of the year due to drought resulting in low production as compared to the previous year.

The Director says that expansion of pyrethrum growing was encouraging during the period under review and attributed this increase to the price hikes for the crop. He, however, said lack of planting materials was a major set-back to the crop.

Sisal growing, Mr. Tuei says, has continued to decline giving way to grazing and food crop areas and according to him the estimated area under the crop, which is only grown in Nakuru District, is 6,000 hectares.

CSO: 4700/710

## TEA FARMERS URGED TO GROW MORE

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 2 Jan 82 p 2

[Text]

CHERANGANY tea growers in Trans Nzoia District have been urged to step up tea production so that their request for a factory can be considered by the Kenya Tea Development Authority (K.T.D.A.)

The call was made by the K.T.D.A. chief Leaf Production Officer, Mr. M. W. Njoroge, when he addressed tea growers at Kapsara Market Centre.

He said with the current inflation it would cost nearly Shs. 30 million to build the factory.

The Trans Nzoia District had 1,372.6 acres of tea, the acreage needed to be more than doubled to justify a factory.

Referring to tea production in other areas in the country, he said it was surprising to see a co-operative society or a division producing millions of kilogrammes of tea compared with a district like Trans Nzoia which produced only a few thousand kilogrammes that could be processed within a day or an hour.

He assured Cherangany farmers that arrangements would be made to ferry their tea to Chebut Factory in Nandi District.

Mr. Njoroge said the area farmers were paid a bonus of 45 cents per kilo in the second payment.

An Assistant Minister for Local Government Mr. Fred Gumo, who is also the area M.P., urged the farmers to intensify tea production. He said they could not

get a factory unless they redoubled their efforts in the tea growing industry.

Mr. Gumo told them that tea was the highest paying crop in the country and urged them to increase the acreage.

He expressed concern that co-operative societies in the area had declined drastically due to mismanagement and misuse of funds by some dishonest leaders and called for a reorganisation in the affected societies.

The meeting was also addressed by the Trans Nzoia branch chairman of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Mrs. Zipporah Tikony and the vice-chairman of Nzoia County Council, Coun. Kitonga.

•The secretary of Hamondo Coffee Co-operative Society in South Maragoli in Kakamega District, Mr. Silas B. Alasi, has appealed to coffee farmers to redouble their efforts this year by planting more coffee trees.



## BRIEFS

**SUGAR OUTPUT HIKE**--The farmers of Mumias Sugar Company Outgrowers in Western Zone have pledged to grow enough sugarcane to meet the factory's sugarcane demand, following the recent price increase of the commodity by President Daniel arap Moi. This was said by the area's outgrowers director, Mr. Arnold Mbembe Ogino, at a farmers meeting held at Budumba Primary School recently. Mr. Ogino called on Mumias Outgrowers Company to assist farmers to ensure production of good quality cane. However, he said the company's transport section handled farmers' cane poorly and this had resulted in farmers losing substantial amounts of money through spilage of cane along the roads. Speaking at the same function, the Mumias Outgrowers Manager, Mr. R. M. A. Juma, called on farmers not to put all of their land under cane but also consider diversifying farming as this would enable them to have enough to feed on instead of relying on sugarcane money to feed their families. [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 8]

**DAILIES FOR REMOTE AREAS**--For the first time since independence people living at Kacheliba Sigor, Marish Pass, Kainuk and Chepareria, in West Pokot District, have started receiving daily newspapers. Revealing this to the KNA yesterday the area newspaper agent, Mr. Ebrahim Mayodi, said the decision to transport papers to these remote areas was thanks to the Government initiative in having improved the roads linking them with the rest of Kenya. [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 3]

**LOYALTY PLEDGE**--Nairobi Mayor and his councillors yesterday reaffirmed their total loyalty to President Daniel arap Moi and by a show of hands resolved that they were disciples of the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity. The reaffirmation was made during Mayor Nathan Kahara's address to the full council meeting. Coun. Kahara said: "We assure President Moi and his Government of council's total solidarity and support at all times reaffirming that the councillors and staff are all strict disciples of the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity." [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 6 Jan 82 p 3]

**KENYANS TO TRAIN IN U.K.**--The following Kenyans have been awarded Technical Co-operation training awards as part of Britain's aid programme to Kenya and will be travelling to Britain under arrangements made by the British Council. Mrs. R. M. Wnjau and Mr. Lekampule Tucker, who are staff development officers with the Directorate of Personnel Management, will spend a three month training



of trainers course at the University of Manchester and will leave for Britain on the night of January 5. Mr. J. P. A. Onyango Airo, a project officer with ICDC, will attend a three-month project planning course at the Project Planning Centre of the University of Bradford and will leave on the night of January 6. Mrs. J. M. Manasseh, an area planning officer with the Nairobi City Council, Mr. A. S. Mugane, county clerk/treasurer with Kiambu County Council, and Mr. J. A. Amaya, an estate surveyor and housing officer with the Ministry of Urban Development will attend Habitat's "new skills and perspectives for urban development" course, which lasts for three months, at the Polytechnic of Central London. They will also leave on January 6. Mrs. E. W. Kimani, a training officer with the fisheries department of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, will be travelling to Britain on January 6 under arrangements made by the British Council. [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 7]

SEYCHELLES SEES NO KENYAN INVOLVEMENT--The Seychelles Government had never suggested that Kenya was involved in the abortive coup in the Seychelles last November. This was said here today by the Seychelles Foreign Minister, Mr. Jacques Hodoul, on arrival from a trip to 16 African countries, including Kenya. The Minister told reporters Kenya President Daniel arap Moi, who is chairman of the O.A.U., had promised to investigate allegations that Kenya was involved in the November 25 coup attempt. Hodoul said he and President Moi discussed allegations by a captured South African mercenary that Kenya had agreed to back the coup by flying in troops, police and a new government. Kenya has vehemently denied the allegations, calling them "malicious and unfounded". During their meeting Hodoul said President Moi promised he would do all he could to help with investigations into the abortive coup. The allegations were made by Martin Dolinchev, who served as a senior officer in South Africa's national intelligence service and is one of seven foreigners arrested here and charged with illegally importing arms and ammunition into the Seychelles. [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 8 Jan 82 p 1]

AKORINO FOLLOWERS ARRESTED--Ten followers of the Akorino religious sect were yesterday arrested and taken to Londiani police station following the death of a two-year-old baby girl at Sorget location in Kericho District. Parents of the child were among those arrested. The District Officer for Londiani division, Mr. Musa Wanasakami, told K.N.A. that the child died on Sunday. The D.O. said the child fell sick last week but her parents refused to take her to hospital for treatment. Mr. Wanasakami said the parents told him they refused to have the child taken to hospital because they believed she could recover if they prayed for her. "Even at the time of arrest the Akorino followers were still praying over the dead body, hoping that the child could come back to life", the D.O. said. Mr. Wanasakami blasted the followers of the sect, who discouraged people from going to hospital and warned that the Government would not allow religious fanatics to confuse "Wananchi". [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 6 Jan 82 p 28]

LIVESTOCK OWNERS WARNED--The acting North-Eastern Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Alex Njue, has warned livestock-owners in the province not to misuse the freedom of movement by infiltrating other districts without seeking authority from their local administration. Addressing a leader's conference at the

Garissa social hall recently, Mr. Njue said the tendency to migrate to other areas or provinces without permission should stop. He said the local people should report such migration to the authorities for better security and smooth administrative work. Mr. Njue said "just as much as there is a law to protect people's privacy, equally there is a law to restrict you from trespassing into other areas before declaring your intention." He said local people were also infiltrating into other provinces with illegal guns. He directed that elders should submit the names of those migrating so as to curb banditry. [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 5 Jan 82 p 2]

CSO: 4700/710

## JONATHAN'S OPPONENTS QUIETED, LINKS WITH LIBYA ALLEGED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9, 10 Feb 82

[Article by Aida Parker]

[Text] [9 Feb 82 p 6]

**LESOTHO'S** Director of Information has issued a statement saying: "Don't Say Killer Squad Supports Us." He was referring to the secret murder squad, Koeoko-Ntja-Tse Mpe ("The Furious Devastating Dogs") which for months has been lynch-murdering political opponents of Prime Minister Leabus Jonathan.

In view of rising international anger about these political killings, it is difficult to see how Jonathan's people could do anything else but deny culpability. Nevertheless, the evidence is against them.

Koeoko's known victims were not supporters of Chief Jonathan. On the contrary, they were his active opponents. All supported the outlawed Basuto-land Congress Party (BCP) of Mr Ntsu Mokhehle, now sworn to overthrow Jonathan's Government, a mission they hope to accomplish this year.

Precisely what stirs in this bleak but beautiful mountain kingdom? Plenty. And none of it good for Jonathan.

Politically, history is at last catching up with Jonathan. On January 27, 1970, he committed an incredible act of political piracy by aborting

the 60-seat Parliamentary election after Radio Lesotho had already announced that BCP was leading, 35 seats to 18.

For nearly a decade Jonathan, thanks to big inputs of foreign aid and investment, plus a trade and tourist bonanza from South Africa, was able to show a certain amount of development. This helped him hold things together.

#### Loosing grip

Today, that's all gone. Faced with a crisis of political legitimacy and personal credibility, together with slumping foreign aid and increased unemployment, Jonathan is fast losing his grip on his 1.3-million Basothos.

Morale, discipline and general loyalty even inside the BNP itself are plummeting, with critics complaining the

Government has been in power too long and is grossly corrupt.

The economy is so troubled that a few months back Jonathan reportedly had to borrow R1-million from a local subsidiary to meet State wages. What is bad today, threatens to be worse tomorrow. Last season Lesotho chalked up a record maize crop, following good rains and ploughing by South African farmers.

This year, the country has been hit by drought. The South African farmers did not help with the ploughing. Expectations are that it will be a very bad crop.

Externally, Jonathan has provoked confrontation with South Africa, ceaselessly belabouring us at international forums. He has consolidated his links with the Eastern bloc—

and has thrown his country open to dissidents and political malcontents from the Republic, providing a still further disruptive factor.

Most threatening of all is the growing activity of Mr Mokhehle's BCP and its military wing, the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), using bombs, machine guns and land mines to recover the political power they believe to be rightfully theirs. The 1970 elections proved BCP to be the majority party. Today it probably holds 80 per cent of national loyalty.

#### Witchhunt

In all this, Jonathan operates a spy-ridden society, shooting ever faster towards massive violence. So disturbed is he about internal security that recently he launched a witchhunt into his own Para-Military Unit (PMU) in an

effort to sift out disaffected members and supporters of BCP.

Overall, then, every single element for political disintegration today exists in this troubled "Switzerland of South Africa." Most potent indicator of simmering unrest has been the long series of political murders, ambushes, abductions, bombings and general sabotage chalked up in recent years.

January, 1974, saw the start of this, when five police stations were attacked and 25 people killed. Thirty-two BCP supporters were charged with subversion and treason — and Mr Mokhehle abruptly left the country.

Early 1980 saw the beginning of the current, and much better planned, armed effort to unseat Jonathan. While most bomb and sabotage incidents have occurred in Maseru, they are fanning out both to the north and south. Generally, publication of such incidents is forbidden for "political reasons" and because of "the adverse affect" it could have on foreign investment.

An important new BCP development is the use of heavier weapons such as the 60 mm mortar and single land mines, mostly used against Government facilities and military outposts, though several hotels and the German Ambassador's car have also been blitzed. For 1981-82, West Germany has allocated R30-million to Lesotho in foreign aid.

Jonathan well knows that his security forces can no longer contain

fully-fledged military unit. Currently the PMU comprises roughly 2 200 men, but indications are that it will be considerably increased this year.

### Its task

But ugliest development of all is Koeoko. Despite denials, it is plain that Koeoko's task is to eliminate Jonathan's most troublesome opponents. In September last year BNP spokesman Desmond Strydom said: "We are treating them as criminals and hunting them down as criminals."

Koeoko aims high. In July Mr Odilon Seheri, former secretary to King Moshoeshoe II and latterly attached to UNESCO, was eliminated. This was followed by the brutal murder of the country's best-known newspaper editor, Mr Edgar Mahlomola Motuba.

Editor of the Protestant-owned, 108-year old weekly, *Leselinyana* ("Little Light"), circulation 25 000, Mr Motuba was a ceaseless pain to Jonathan's Government.

*Leselinyana* was for a full decade a prime source of information about Opposition politics — and its popularity contrasted sharply with that of Jonathan's own paper, *Lesotho Weekly*, circulation 2 500.

honest government — and this one is neither — could do much to improve our plight. One of our major problems is erosion, caused by overgrazing. But how can you tell a poor herder to slaughter some of his cattle when he sees a Cabinet Minister with 1 200 head of cattle?"

He also wrote: "How can we provide homes for poor people when the Prime Minister uses Development Bank money to build houses — and then rents them out at a profit?"

### Bodies found

Twice armed PMU officers visited Mr Botuba's offices, expressing dissatisfaction with his paper. Last September armed thugs arrived at his home, insisted he leave with them. Two friends, worried about his safety, left with the party. All three bodies were later found, hacked to pieces, in a ditch 90 km from Maseru.

Another proposed Koeoko victim was Mr Benjamin Masilo, chairman of the Lesotho Christian Council. He succeeded in escaping when the goon gang arrived at his house, but in the later shoot-out his three-year old grandson, Ben, was killed.

Jonathan's Government admits that many people have been killed, but says specific numbers cannot be released "because it is not in the people's interest." Apart from political murders, many other people have disappeared without trace. One such was Dr Michael Ramorotoio, a veterinary surgeon.

Others, such as the veterinary surgeon, Dr Mathaba, have died while in detention without trial. No arrests have been made in any of these cases.

So critically has the position deteriorated that even the London-based human rights organisation, Amnesty International, today lists Lesotho as a "despotic country," citing among others its detention of political prisoners.

**TOMORROW:** Chief Jonathan's Libyan and Red connections.



[Text]

TEN years ago, when he was in the forefront of dialogue between South Africa and Black Africa and because he preached co-existence and regional interdependence, Lesotho's Chief Leabua Jonathan was derided throughout the OAU states as "Pretoria's Uncle Tom."

About 1975 Jonathan performed a dramatic about-face. Since then, he has shaped up as a major security risk both to the RSA and to Western strategic interests generally.

Lesotho currently maintains links (growing closer all the time) with nine Eastern bloc states, and has concluded diplomatic agreements with Mozambique, Cuba and the USSR. For South Africa, possibly the most menacing of these links is that with Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's revolutionary Libyan regime.

Through very good Middle East intelligence sources, I can disclose that in September last year Major-General J M Lekhanya, Officer Commanding Chief Jonathan's Para-Military Unit (PMU), visited Libya.

#### Guarantees

Here he obtained guarantees that Gaddafi would underwrite Lesotho purchases of arms, including armoured cars, anti-aircraft weapons and a variety of small arms and ammunition.

It has also been confirmed that on December 4, 1981, four Libyans arrived in

Lesotho, apparently at the invitation of the mountain kingdom's Department of Foreign Affairs.

The length of their visit is not known, nor its purpose. When I made discreet inquiries, I was told that they were UN representatives. When I checked this out with the outlandish Basutoland Congress Party, they gave that suggestion a horselaugh. According to them, the Libyans wore, or had in their luggage, Libyan army uniforms.

What is indisputable is that tiny Lesotho, still one of the poorest countries on earth, facing no external threat on any border, has joined the African arms race with a vengeance.

Since January, 1981, weaponry entering Lesotho has increased many times. Much of this comes from the Western bloc, including 60 and 91 mm mortars and ammunition, rifles, machine-guns, hand-grenades and large quantities of 7,62 mm and 5,55 mm ammunition.

#### Heavy calibre

Large quantities of heavier-calibre material are coming in from the Eastern bloc, but no check can be kept on this because it arrives on direct flights from Maputo to Maseru. On one visit to Lesotho, I counted some 150 armed, uniformed members of the PMU on duty at Lesotho airport. No one could tell me why.

Since June, 1981, the quantities of arms Lesotho has acquired have increased out of all proportion to the country's general and

normal defence needs.

The PMU is now planning an air wing, intended to be at full strength by the end of 1983. Personnel will comprise 16 pilots, of whom six will fly choppers. Two Skyvans, two BO-105 helicopters and a Dornier-28 aircraft are already stationed in Lesotho. It is also rumoured that a Dornier-27 is on its way, but I could not confirm that.

Why have Jonathan's once-peaceful attitudes taken such a 180 degree turn? One reason is that, a political opportunist to the last, the 67-year old Basutoland National Party leader has carefully examined the superpower struggle in Southern Africa, decided that the future lies with the USSR rather than the US.

Has he, personally, swung heavily over to the left? Improbable. More likely, with his economy showing a sharp dip, he is seeking aid wherever he can find it. Here the oil-rich Gaddafi, busy doing Moscow's dirty work in Africa, looks good for some useful pickings.

On their side, the Russians have no resident Ambassador in Lesotho, but accept the small state, enclaved in South Africa, as a useful tool and spy-window on this country.

Soviet diplomats and military attaches are frequently flown in, via Maputo, to take soundings and for meetings with fellow-travellers from South Africa, including certain journalists operating out of Johannesburg.

#### ANC Support

In his new-found anxiety to give the RSA

a flea in the ear whenever possible, Jonathan has publicly committed himself to support of the ANC. On February 2 last year, after the Motata raid on ANC headquarters in Maputo, he sent a message to President Samora Machel assuring him of Lesotho's "firmest solidarity."

He also asked Machel to present his condolences to the ANC and to express his "solidarity with the ANC." ANC terrorists are today assured of a safehouse in Lesotho. Twice, in December, 1980, and again in April, 1981, Jonathan has refused to return known saboteurs to South Africa.

The Moscow-aligned Basutoland Communist Party operates freely inside Lesotho, and enjoys close links with Jonathan's Government. Most influential figure in this party is Michael Malefani Sefadi, who is also Director of the Institute of Southern African Studies in Maseru.

Sefadi is in close and frequent touch with Ruth First, who occupies the same position in Maputo. Ruth is the wife of Joe Slovo, the Maputo-based ANC leader, former Johannesburg advocate and a long-standing senior KGB operative. It was Slovo who masterminded the spectacular sabotage attack on Sasol.

Radio Lesotho is used by ANC spokesman to direct propaganda into the RSA. During one visit a viciously anti-South African broadcast was made by a person named as Manke-kolo Mahlangu of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).

The increasing ANC involvement in Lesotho holds inherent threat for the RSA, Transkei and Ciskei. Enclaved between all three states, Lesotho is ideally situated for infiltration into each one. On August 8, 1981, Transkei policemen were killed in a shoot-out with the ANC. There have, too, been attacks on Ciskei police.

### Only hope

Can Jonathan be restrained from his ever-faster slide into Eastern bloc clutches? Many in the PMU are extremely unhappy about the Libyan-USSR connection, feeling Lesotho is too vulnerable to play such dangerous games. They, with most in Lesotho, believe that the only hope for rescue is through Mr Ntsu Mokhehle and his BCP.

Shrewd as he is, Jonathan gravely underestimated Ntsu's personal popularity when he declared him to be a

"criminal fugitive."

Among young and old alike, Ntsu remains a cult figure. Currently BCP has a large contingent stationed in the mountains, with much bigger recruitment potential.

Their activities are somewhat restricted by lack of arms. Because of this, the Lesotho Liberation Army depends heavily on explosives stolen from the South African mines.

Almost all Lesotho miners in Welkom, the Vaal Triangle, East-West Rand and Rustenburg are BCP adherents. They contribute heavily to BCP funds, willing to pay up to R2 000 for land mines and other equipment, much of it stolen from the PMU.

Jonathan frequently accuses Pretoria of arming the LLA. Ntsu derisively replies: "If we got arms from South Africa or anywhere else, this job would have been finished off long ago."

To sum up, Lesotho is on the boil, with a steam burst threatening at any time. The economy cannot lift as things stand now — there is no possible way Moscow can provide Jonathan with a customer for his only saleable assets, Black muscle and his mountain water. He would have done well to stick to his policy of co-existence.

## SA PAPER REPORTS DISCORD IN CABINET

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 8

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

**DURBAN.** — A concerted effort to oust Mr James Pillay as Commissioner of Police in the Seychelles has been foiled because of staunch support from President Albert Rene.

A tremendous struggle has been going on as a background to the attempted coup on the island last year between Mr Pillay and several Cabinet Ministers in the Rene Government who want him ousted.

The Cabinet Ministers have claimed that Mr Pillay, who received his military and police training in Britain, knew of the attempted coup in advance and also that he was in contact with Mr James Mancham, deposed president of the Seychelles, before the coup. They say he did nothing to inform the Rene Government a coup was to be staged.

The man leading the campaign against Mr Pillay is Mr J Berloise, Minister of Defence and

Immigration.

I learned this week that Mr Berloise openly accused Mr Pillay in the presence of President Rene that he knew of the attempted coup well in advance and yet chose to remain silent.

Mr Pillay angrily rejected the allegations and was supported by President Rene who said there was no concrete proof of the allegations.

The confrontation between Mr Pillay and Mr Berloise has almost split the Seychelles Government in two.

Mr Berloise, who was mainly responsible for the overthrow of the Mancham Government about three years ago while Mr Mancham was in Britain, has also accused other Cabinet Ministers of knowing of the plot.

In heated exchanges with President Rene, he claimed that Mr Matthew Servina, Minister of Lands, Mr Philbert

Letzeaus, Minister of Health, and the Secretary-General of the ruling party, the Seychelles Union-People's Party, Mr Gey Seino, were also implicated in the plot.

All three men were called before President Rene and all three men denied the allegations.

There has been a long-standing feud between Mr Pillay, who is intensely disliked in some Government quarters because of his British background, and Mr Berloise.

When the Mancham Government was toppled, Mr Berloise was promoted over his head as Minister of Defence.

A feud between the two men went even further when last year, as Minister of Immigration, Mr Berloise, refused Mr Pillay's daughter's Dutch father-in-law a visa to visit the island.

The political row in the ruling party, I learned this week, entered an uneasy truce with Mr Rene telling Cabinet Ministers to close the ranks and to settle their differences in view of the pending trial of the mercenaries.

Mr Rene also hinted to his Cabinet colleagues that he suspected another attempt would be made shortly to overthrow the Government.



## COMMENTARIES ON OPENING OF PARLIAMENTARY SESSION REPORTED

## Little Change Expected

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 pp 28, 29

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "ABRACADABRA! So Now Can We Please See the Big Trick at Last?"]

[Text]

AS SOUTH Africa's legislators began gathering in Cape Town this week for the start of 1982's parliamentary session, the country's politics-watchers took up their positions in an unwelcome mood of resignation.

The atmosphere was not charged with any great expectancy. There was little, if any, evidence of a government poised for a glittering performance.

The spectators and players in the continuing show seemed to move into their pre-curtain positions more out of habit and obligation than real excitement.

The billboards' perennial query, 'Will this be the session of reform or not,' had faded and become faintly pathetic — like a magician constantly repeating abracadabra without producing any trick.

It all cried out for a dash of brilliance, a flourish, a bold move to restore hope and vigour.

**A**nd, the potential exists for just that: the need for a touch of panache really does not have to remain frozen in the wistful sighs of "if only" or "oh wouldn't it be lovely ..."

On a range of vital issues the psychological foundations for new departures have been laid.

● the President's Council is expected to fulfil its most important function this year, namely to recommend a constitutional dispensation for whites, coloureds and Asians.

● A long-awaited "new deal" for urban blacks has been promised; the Grasskopf Committee, appointed to formulate it, has completed its report and handed it to the Government.

● The confederal structure of regional government interlinked with economic decentralisation envisaged by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, holds at least potential for a new kind of citizenship for all South Africans.

All of these touch the fundamentals of South African politics. There are other areas, too, where the possibility of change has been presaged.

**T**he massive Human Sciences Research Council report on education gives comprehensive guidelines for a new system that would completely reshape South African education and, well han-

dled, could begin to remove some of the intense racial hostility that surrounds the subject.

South Africa's highly controversial security legislation, among the most rigid in the world, has been scrutinised by the Rabie Commission, whose report is expected to be dealt with this session.

The Group Areas Act, that cornerstone of apartheid, is under investigation, and although the terms of reference do not hold out much hope of positive change, the potential for reform at least has been created.

In the nature of politics, any government will work strenuously to avoid the impression of yielding to pressure and worse, to be seen to implement policies its opposition has been advocating.

South Africa's ruling Nationalists are more acutely sensitive than most about this.

But, observers point out, they need not suffer unduly from making positive moves on any or all of these issues.

All of them became subject to scientific scru-

tiny by the Government's own volition.

With a little flair, the nation's leaders could easily retain the initiative and present a package of reforms not as concessions but as logical developments of its own programming.

So far, however, the Government has not built a promising record with its own commissions.

It has tended to use them as shields of convenience to delay confronting pressing problems, instead of exploiting them as vehicles of real reform.

Inevitably, this has quickly given rise to cynicism among those inside South Africa and outside who desperately want reform. They seriously question whether the Government's intentions really include meaningful change, or whether they are merely confined to maintaining white hegemony and party unity.

As the party leadership increasingly panders to its rightwing, the latter correspondingly appears to be the case.

But, there are remarkable depths of understanding for Mr Botha's problems in this regard.

While impatience at home and abroad is undoubtedly rising to dangerous levels, some room for manoeuvre remains.

As long as he can convince people that he has a serious commitment to reform, a mixture of genuine desire for progress and a goodly dose of

self-interest (inspired by a need to protect vast investments) will ensure a measure of tolerance from abroad.

If he can prove that his switch from bold, robust leadership to his current reticence is merely a tactical change from bullying to persuasion — with true reform remaining the end goal — he will retain some credit.

As one senior diplomat said: "You would be astonished at how many countries really badly want to be able to cheer South Africa."

But, he said, what was badly needed was a symbolic gesture to confirm South Africa's reformist bona fides.

For example, it was common cause that scrapping the Immorality Act would make little difference to day-to-day South African life. But the symbolic pluses for South Africa would be enormous.

Another diplomat suggested that granting blacks freehold property rights — one of the proposals in the Groenkop Committee report — would similarly gain considerable credit.

Removing remaining restraints on open sports participation would be a help as would moves to open university admission.

Prominent Stellenbosch University historian Dr Herman Gilliomee argues that a perhaps more feasible (in terms of

the Government's constraints from its own constituency) route would be to move quickly on the proposed confederation.

To formalise a common confederal citizenship for all South Africans would redress part of the deprivation generated by the homeland policy. It would also be marketable to the rightwing as part of the unfolding grand Nationalist scheme.

Opposition Leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert said that whereas in the previous Parliamentary session one still played around with what kinds of reform and in which direction, the feeling this year was that the Government was beginning to lose the initiative for reform.

"Therefore, some kind of imaginative action is desperately needed to instill a new sense of purpose into South Africa," he said.

"This can take place at different levels, but I am sure that one area that would grab immediate internal and international attention would be the bold and uncomplicated abolition of discriminatory legislation."

Again, the Government's record is not auspicious. Recent opportunities to make symbolic overtures have been squandered.

The President's Council recommendations that District Six and Pageview be returned to the coloured and Indian communities were handled with such equivocation that no-

body was pleased, neither the communities to whom token concessions were made, nor the rightwingers who saw an erosion of will.

In fact, generally, the Government's performance lately has provided naught for the comfort of its Western friends, whose tacit and, in America's case particularly, vocal defence of South Africa becomes increasingly difficult.

"South Africa is appallingly short on public relations," said one senior diplomat.

"You people are your own worst enemies. You virtually do all in your power to make it impossible for others to associate with you."

While there is a grudging professional admiration for the adroitness of South Africa's negotiating over the South West Africa/Namibia wrangle, there is widespread incredulity at the clumsiness with which the Government often behaves.

Bulldozing squatter hovels right before the horrified eyes of a group of visiting American congressmen is not a guarantee for winning friends and influencing people.

Trivialising the attempt by a group of South African-based mercenaries to overthrow the Seychelles Government as a high-spirited prank in which a few men merely ran around in the bush shooting out windows left observers aghast.

Statements alleging a slow-thinking capacity in blacks and some of the crasser justifications for measures like detention without trial (to allow people to "cool off") have echoed around the world doing incalculable harm.

Nobody is suggesting that simply polishing its act or making symbolic gestures is a universal panacea, nor that it relieves South Africa of the burden of real change.

But a touch of elan, a little political inventiveness, a measure of courage to move beyond the parochial tediums of party unity, and some acts to signal that the Government is in earnest about meaningful reform would certainly help.

### 'In Spite of Its Faults, We Do Still Need Parliament'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 29

[Article by David Welsh]

[Text] **FEW** parliamentary sessions have been greeted with the lack of enthusiasm and anticipation that characterise the one about to start.

No one expects any dramatic innovations from the Government, and it is widely assumed that it will be another session in which the Nationalists mark time, doing nothing that might exacerbate their internal dissension.

In any case, many people are raising pretty fundamental questions about the relevance of Parliament itself as an institution in a highly centralised and non-democratic system like South Africa's.

It represents about one-fifth of the total population, and in practice takes none of the key decisions that shape the country's future.

The ability of Parliament to bring down the Government is only a theoretical possibility, and little that happens in Parliament seems likely to have a significant bearing on the course of events.

□ □ □

Of course, Parliament enacts legislation, votes money and so on, but in reality it passes decisions that have been taken in the Cabinet and elsewhere, such as in the all-important National Security Council.

The executive has become omnipotent. It can largely by-pass Parliament by means of delegated legislation that vests discretionary power in the hands of bureaucrats; it can enact legislation untrammelled by any Bill of Rights; and it can be as secretive as it wishes to be in response to parliamentary questions.

A number of people, on considering these facts, have

come to the conclusion that the operation of Parliament gives the South African political system a democratic gloss that belies the system's true nature.

To participate in the system by voting or by putting up opposition candidates gives it a credibility that it does not deserve.

That these same analyses are a little less clear on what alternatives are available does not affect the force of their argument that participation lends legitimacy to an unjust system.

Yet if one pushes through their argument to other logical frontiers one arrives at what I think is an untenable position.

One can show easily that the Press, the legal profession, the universities and trade unions operate in circumstances that are equally restricted.

If one advocated a boycott of Parliament because participation gives it credibility then, to be consistent, one should similarly boycott these other institutions because the use of their circumscribed freedoms also lends credibility to the system.

The logic of this position can be pushed even further: thorough-going consistency should require you not only not to withdraw from, but actively to oppose, the continued existence of these institutions!

The limited freedoms that remain to the Press, universities and political parties are manifestations of what Marcuse called "repressive tolerance".

The true polariser ought by definition to be intent on tearing down the facades that hide the true, hideous intolerance.

In short, his logical options are either to leave the country or to join a revolutionary

organisation.

If you accept neither of these options then you have to accommodate yourself to a life that is full of troublesome compromises and moral ambivalences like living in a group area, attending segregated schools and so on.

□ □ □

Even if I reject the radical argument against participation in Parliament, I am nevertheless forced to conclude that it is a strong one, which I have sought to rebut by means of what is a slightly unfair *reductio ad absurdum*.

The case for remaining "inside the system" rests on grounds that are a mixture of principle and pragmatism.

If you believe that some chance remains for a negotiated, relatively peaceful accommodation of the racial problem then, I think, it follows that you should use the limited means of participation and the shrunken remnants of freedom to fight for this cause.

Institutions like Parliament, the Press and universities can serve as reminders of what they might be like in a properly democratic society; the shadow serves to indicate what the substance ought to be.

Much of the Opposition's task is concerned with keeping values alive.

□ □ □

South African law and practice has so debased democratic values like accountability, civil liberty and the rule of law that for a whole generation they could become meaningless slogans.

However inadequate it may be, Parliament still serves as a forum in which

these values can be propagated, and it is still a means through which a powerful personality like Van Zyl Slabbert can project his vision of an alternative ordering of our society.

It is more than likely that repression will increase over the next few years.

Freedom of the Press seems likely to take a further pounding in this session, and extensive use of security legislation to swat down trade unionists and other dissidents can be confidently predicted.

Parliament has already become one of the few surviving platforms from which fundamental criticism can be offered.

It seems to me both senseless and unduly nihilistic to spurn this opportunity — and the comparable ones in other institutions — in the name of moral utopianism.

Political parties function-

ing within the system have some degree of immunity which is denied to organisations that operate on an avowedly extra-parliamentary basis.

Here too are possibilities for vigorous campaigning and mobilising support for policies that are premised on a refusal to be stampeded into the Nationalists' laager.

To forgo these possibilities smacks of selling the past rather than of principled opposition.

In the absence of any credible alternative strategy, short of the extreme ones that I mentioned, withdrawal from participation simply means sterile inactivity which is morally the least defensible option of all.

In all of these discussions there is no place for dogmatism. A future historian, looking back to these times, might well reach the conclusion that this or that strategy

was correct or mistaken.



In the midst of these times, however, we can have no such foreknowledge, and what we do will be based as much upon hunch and intuition as upon real insight.

I am not arguing for a blanket participation in all official institutions.

The PFP was quite right to have nothing to do with the President's Council, which is a body whose structure and nature render it inherently incapable of producing appropriate constitutional proposals.

There is a fundamental difference between participating in Parliament and the President's Council: Parliament was not created by the National Party to further its own policies; the President's Council was.

[Editorial: "Ho-hum, It's the Botha Non-Show"]

[Text] It would be nice if South Africa could look forward to the new session of Parliament with anything but a weariness of spirit, tinged with more than a little dread.

But unfortunately the weariness and the dread--based less on what Mr P W Botha is likely to do than on what he will probably once again leave undone--are well founded. On the basis of once promised, twice shy, South Africa is not about to buy a secondhand policy from a man who has now had three years to match his words with deeds--and who has failed miserably.

And, to judge by the State President's opening address on Friday, that is all South Africa can expect: a retreading of discrimination with a few footling changes in the law which will fool no one and anger many.

If, for example, Mr Botha believes that he can finesse Dr Koornhof's famous promise to abandon the "dompas" by legislative sleight of hand which would make all South Africans, irrespective of colour, carry passes, then his years of leadership have borne only one sour fruit: a mistaken contempt for the intelligence of the people who elected him to power and whom, ultimately, he serves.

The dangerous belief that you can fool all the people all the time comes with the insolence and the isolation of office. But it is even more perilous in the case of a Prime Minister whose unfulfilled promises have left him naked before both his enemies and his friends.



The right wing, which he has come to fear so much, believes that it has only to say boo to Mr Botha for him to scurry for cover. The rest of South Africa, including, these days, growing numbers of people within his own party, is steeped in a desperate cynicism about his courage and his convictions that only the boldest, most unexpected move could shake.

The tragedy is that Mr Botha, in his first excited flurries of power, set the stage for those moves: the appointment of the President's Council, the moves towards a fundamental constitutional rethink, the appointment of a rash of commissions and committees to examine everything from South Africa's security laws to influx control and education.

Today those commissions have come home to roost, the committees have reported and the Presi-

dent's Council is diligently, if slowly, at work.

The stage is set, but there is little indication that Mr Botha will allow the curtain to rise. Instead he attempts to distract us with the sideshow of a universal dompas, the strongman display of a Steyn Commission report. And the audience waits restively another year for the first act of reform.

But — and if Mr Botha doesn't know it, Nationalist commentators certainly do — life is not confined to the Prime Minister's theatre. There is a world in the streets outside which has little interest in, and even fewer expectations of, the Government's diversions. It is a world which knows that history moves at its own pace and that as each year passes Mr Botha will have to run just that much harder to catch up.

He had better start running now.

#### Impact of Steyn, Rabie Reports

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jan 82 p 26

[Editorial: "Poor Omens for the '82 Session"]

[Text]

**T**HIS time, at least, there can be no false expectations. The 1982 parliamentary session opens tomorrow amid forebodings rather than the glowing hopes that were so effectively shattered in 1981. The Prime Minister's stalled reform programme remains stalled, his fears of a rightist backlash stronger than ever. Economically it will be a difficult year, and an unpopular Budget will give the Government another inducement to please its supporters with "traditional" Nationalist policies. Seeking to cultivate an image of strength, Mr Botha is likely to make further inroads on basic freedoms.

The reports of two commissions, the Steyn Commission on the mass media and the Rabie Commission on security legislation, are expected to signal new restrictions. Whatever the overall tenor of their recommenda-

tions, the Government's current mood is for showing the tough face of "total strategy."

To be sure, there will be more soothing talk of constitutional change. A report from the President's Council will allow the Government to deliver a set of tentative proposals setting out its reformist intentions. But this again will be a matter of promises (probably inadequate ones at that) rather than real action.

A foretaste of inaction to come is offered today with the long-awaited report of the Viljoen Committee on Soweto's critical housing backlog. The Government agrees with its findings — and appoints yet another committee to investigate how they can be implemented! For heaven's sake, if it cannot clear up a mess of red tape, what hopes are left for solving problems that are still more urgent?

## 'Difficult Year Financially'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 82 p 14

[Editorial: "Where the Belt Should Pinch"]

[Text]

**I**T is abundantly clear that the 1982 parliamentary session is not going to be a comfortable one. Quite apart from any new inroads on basic freedoms, it will be a difficult year financially for this rich country. Opening Parliament on Friday the State President warned that belts would have to be tightened. What the country will want to hear from the Government as the session progresses is whether belts will be tightened in the right places. There can be no tampering with the vital tasks of reducing South Africa's massive social inequalities.

The State President indicated that housing and education would enjoy special consideration, and hopefully that is a good augury. Literally millions of South Africans lack the most basic amenity of life, a proper roof over their heads. In Soweto alone there is a backlog of 35 000 houses, growing by 4 000 a year, as the Viljoen Committee reported last week. Private sector finance is being drawn in to help, but even so the Government's share remains formidable — and inescapable. In education, about 10 times as much is spent

on each white child as on a black. The De Lange report calculated that to eliminate the disparity by 1990 would mean spending a staggering R4 000 million-plus a year.

Any white interests which doubt the wisdom of such outlays on blacks should remember three things. First, that the backlogs are the accumulated result of years of neglect, parsimony and selfishness. Secondly, that a growing share of State monies is in fact coming nowadays from blacks as their spending power increases. Thirdly and most important, that housing and schools programmes act in the long-term security interests of all South Africans.

Where Government spending can and should be cut is in the enforcement of wasteful ideologically based laws. For instance, in the pointless harassment of people and the shunting around of populations on mere grounds of race. Dramatic economies can be effected in trimming these and other bureaucracies whose role does nothing to speed social progress, and seems often deliberately to impede it.

CSO: 4700/696



# FURTHER REPORTAGE OF STEYN COMMISSION'S PRESS LEGISLATION

## Impact on Companies

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Eugene Hugo and Stan Maher]

[Text]

THE Cape-based Afrikaans Press giant, Nasionale Pers, would be the only major newspaper group to remain untouched by the Steyn Commission's draft legislation which threatens to force the disintegration of other leading newspaper groups.

Nasionale Pers is a private company which has no cross-shareholding stakes — and its general shareholding is so widely diversified that there are no individual interests of more than 10 percent.

This was confirmed by top-level sources in the company yesterday.

The Draft Bill restricts individual shareholding in public newspaper companies to one percent and to 10 percent in private firms.

Opposition Finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz yesterday said the Bill as "utterly impractical" and "contrary to the free enterprise system."

Mr Schwarz said the Bill created tremendous practical problems — both for existing and new companies.

## Different

Mr Schwarz said the newspaper business was a "very different one" in which

only people with substantial shareholdings were involved. In Europe individuals held even larger percentages of shares in newspaper companies.

Mr Schwarz also pointed out that there was no prohibition on an individual starting a newspaper in his own name without forming a company.

Mr Schwarz was backed by the influential Institute of Directors.

A statement from Mr Desmond Niven, chairman of the institute's Southern African Division, denounced the commission's recommendations as "unacceptable" and said they violated all the principles of reasonable democracy.

Mr Niven said the commission's proposals were an interference with the principle of free speech and free enterprise.

It became clear yesterday that the Draft Bill could force smaller newspaper proprietors out of business and disrupt the shareholding pattern in major companies.

Major newspaper publishers directly affected would be the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and Perskor.

## Nat Giants in Fierce Row--Warns PW's Men: "Push Us and We'll Fight Back"

The Afrikaans Press giant Perskor has thrown down the gauntlet to Mr P W Botha.

With a thinly veiled threat that Perskor could switch its support to the Prime Minister's rightwing rivals, one of its newspapers this week warned the Government of the dire consequences which would follow two pending court actions against Perskor.

Both actions--a R12-million civil case brought by Nasionale Pers, Perskor's Cape-based rival, and a possible criminal action for alleged fraud--are a sequel to the false circulation figure scandal which broke over Perskor's head two years ago.

In an amazingly forthright warning this week, Die Vaderland said that it would be "politically stupid" to ignore the consequences when "the Afrikaner's two great Press houses tackle each other in court".

Commenting on the pending criminal action, Die Vaderland's political diarist, Voorslag (usually the editor, Mr Harald Pakendorf), warns equally strongly of the consequences "when an Afrikaner government which already has problems with its supporters takes a pillar of the Afrikaner establishment to court, particularly in a province where Perskor is at its strongest and the National Party is no longer welcome everywhere".

### Powerful

The direct reference to the Prime Minister's considerable loss of support in the Transvaal, and the implicit warning that Perskor could withdraw its editorial support for Mr Botha and throw its weight behind his rightwing rivals, is taken even further.

No one must think that men on the right will sit back and wait, Die Vaderland warns.

"They know that, whatever the court may find, Perskor will remain a powerful factor in the Transvaal.

"Perhaps a powerful factor which will be angry and difficult.

"Even if the people now in control want no part of such things, all sorts of possibilities which do not exist at the moment could be opened," Voorslag warns cryptically.

Nationalist sources--who yesterday described Die Vaderland's action as "amazing"--interpreted it as a clear warning that Mr Marius Jooste, Perskor's embattled chairman and an archverkrampste, would interpret the court action as a declaration of war and would take his company into open opposition to Mr P W Botha.

Despite the fact that most of the papers in the Perskor stable have verligte editors, such as Dr Willem de Klerk and Mr Pakendorf himself, the Dagbreek Trust,

which controls the company's fortunes, is heavily dominated by rightwing adherents of Dr Andries Treurnicht and old-style verkramptes, such as the former Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, and the former powerful Transvaal National Party secretary, Mr Jack Steyl.

#### Haunted

The implication is that, enraged by the court action, Mr Jooste and his board would come out in open opposition to Mr Botha and the editors would toe the verkrampte line...or leave.

If this happened, the Prime Minister would, it is inferred, lose a vital pillar of support in an already disaffected province.

There is also a clear if implied warning in Die Vaderland that the provincial divisions which have haunted the National Party since its inception will be invoked to embarrass a Cape-led government.

The fierce and bitter circulation battle between the Nasionale Pers and Perskor, which culminated in the circulation figure scandal and the two pending court cases, is in itself a reflection of those divisions.

Rightwing bitterness against the Cape-based Nasionale Pers, which has close ideological ties with the Prime Minister, has been exacerbated by its successful breakthrough into the Transvaal newspaper market.

#### Scandal

Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) figures published yesterday show that Nasionale Pers's Transvaal flagship, Beeld, today enjoys a 23 000 advantage over Die Transvaler, the traditional mouthpiece of Transvaal Nationalism.

Meanwhile, the Attorney General of the Transvaal, Mr J E Nothling, has asked the Association of Accredited Practitioners in Advertising (AAPA) to meet him on the alleged falsification of circulation figures by three Perskor papers.

This was revealed yesterday by Mr Derrick Dissel, president of AAPA.

"Mr Nothling wanted to know to what extent the falsification of figures affected advertising," said Mr Dissel.

This follows the announcement in Parliament last year by the Minister of Justice that the deputy Attorney General in the Transvaal, Mr Van der Merwe, had been appointed to investigate the issue.

The circulation scandal which rocked the Nationalist establishment first broke in September 1980, when the ABC disclosed that, during the six month period ending in June that year, the daily circulation figures for Die Transvaler, Die Vaderland and the Citizen had been falsely increased by 21 306, 9 367 and 6 599 respectively.

At the same time, the ABC announced that the circulation certificates of the Transvaler and Die Vaderland from 1976 to 1979 were being withdrawn.

The total number of fictitious Transvaler sales involved were 2,7-million, Die Vaderland 1,1-million and the Citizen 851 317.

Meanwhile, Perskor has humiliated a leading Afrikaans verligte, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of the University of Potchefstroom.

Prof van der Walt was informed by Mr Jooste that he had been appointed to the board of Dagbreek Trust.

After the announcement was made, however, the professor was told that his nomination to the board had not been successful.

#### Reaction of PFP, NRP

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Feb 82 p 21

[Text]

---

The PFP sees the Steyn Commission recommendations as a threat not only to Press freedom but also to the freedom of the individual — and even fears for the future of a parliamentary opposition. However, the NRP considers that the findings are generally in accord with the evidence its leader gave to the commission last year.

---

The dreadful prospect of journalism coming under statutory control seemed imminent, said the president of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU), Mr Peter McLean.

Reacting to the Steyn Commission report yesterday, Mr McLean said the proposed legislation to "professionalise" journalism tried to make it seem that journalism would be enhanced and protected.

"I don't see it this way at all and fear that legislation will mean the policing and regimentation of the Press and the end of Press freedom in this country.

#### DISCUSSION

"We shall all be the losers: the country, the people and the Press," he said.

Mr McLean said the Steyn Commission strongly recommended discussion between the Government and the Press before any legislation was proceeded with.

"We hope to arrange a meeting as soon as possible," he said.

The Progressive Federal Party yesterday condemned the recommendations of the Steyn Commission report, but the New Republic Party said it had no argument with most of the findings.

The PFP leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said that one of the first signs that a society was in difficulties was when it suppressed the free flow of information.

He repeated a warning he had given before about the future of parliamentary opposition in South Africa.

Quoting from his speech to the PFP national congress in November, he said: "Already there is a myriad laws which inhibit the functions of a free Press in our country. If a situation should be reached where the Press can no longer report on political, social and economic events to the extent

that the public can be reasonably informed about developments in their own society, then a parliamentary opposition may as well go out of business.

"I do not believe the Government will act in one fell swoop against the Press. If this were the case, it would be relatively easy for an opposition to decide that it can no longer play any constructive role.

"Rather, what is more likely to happen, is that in a steady incremental fashion, little rights and freedoms of the Press will be gradually destroyed, and always justified in some kind of onslaught or threat — real or

imagined."

The NRP spokesman on the media, Mr Brian Page, said most of the commission's recommendations were in accord with evidence given by NRP leader Mr Vause Raw.

Mr Page said the NRP interpreted the commission's recommendation that a Press council be set up as an indication that the media — and not the Government — will be

responsible for maintaining a code of ethics.

The recommendations were worthy of serious consideration, he said, and expressed the hope that the proposed Press council would be a means of keeping the public reliably and accurately informed.

Mr Dave Dalling, the chief PFP media spokesman, welcomed certain of the recommendations, namely those calling for the

repeal of restrictive legislation, greater autonomy for the SABC, and a judicial review of restriction and detention orders.

But he described the main thrust of the report and envisaged legislation as dealing "a deadly blow to a free and independent Press in South Africa."

He said the suggested Press council subdues and eliminates all those writers who vigorously oppose the

Nationalist Government."

The English Press and its owners were the main target, he added.

"The report and its implications are a disaster for the freedom of the individual, a mortal blow to the freedom of the Press, a serious setback for legitimate opposition in the Republic, and a sad day for what is left of democracy in South Africa," said Mr Dalling.

#### 'DIE TRANSVALER' Support

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Feb 82 pp 1, 2, 7, 8

[Text] The National Party's Transvaal mouthpiece, Die Transvaler, yesterday reaffirmed its loyalty to the Prime Minister following suggestions that its parent company, Perskor, may switch support to Mr Botha's verkrampte foes within the NP.

The newspaper acknowledged in an editorial that the developing struggle between Perskor and its Cape-based rival, Nasionale Pers, was detrimental to both the NP and Afrikaners.

But it emphatically rejected interpretations of an article in a Perskor newspaper last week that Perskor and its newspapers would "set themselves up" against the Government and the NP over a Press struggle.

The editorial was clearly referring to an article last week by Voorslag, the political diarist of Perskor's afternoon newspaper, Die Vaderland.

Voorslag referred to the pending civil court clash in which Nasionale Pers plans to sue Perskor for R12-million for Perskor's alleged falsification of the circulation figures of three of its Transvaal newspapers to the detriment of Nasionale Pers.

He pointed out that Perskor was "a pillar of the Afrikaner establishment", and was strongest in the Transvaal, where the Government was weak.

Voorslag's comments were interpreted in the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times as a warning that if Perskor was prosecuted, the company's editorial support might be shifted from the Prime Minister to his Rightwing foes within the NP.

Verkrampt

Although the editors of both Die Vaderland and Die Transvaler are regarded as verligtes, Perskor's management is considered verkrampt and more inclined towards the



conservative Transvaal NP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, than towards the Prime Minister.

In its editorial yesterday, Die Transvaler said Perskor's executive chairman, Mr Marius Jooste, had rejected "insinuations" that the company would switch its support.

THE Steyn Commission's 1 400-word report is the result of an 18-month study into the functioning of the South African media.

The commission was appointed in June 1980 with the following terms of reference:

"To inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media meet the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times and, if not, how they can be improved."

The commission's chairman was Mr Justice M T Steyn, who headed an earlier commission which investigated reporting of police and defence matters.

The other members were Mr Dirk 'Das' Herbst, director of the SA Forum, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, a deputy attorney-general of the Transvaal, Mr Basil Lendau, executive director of the Union Corporation Mining House, and Mr James Hopkins, a Natal educationist and vice-chairman of the SABC board.

'Don't Tread on Afrikanerdom's Toes'

The Steyne Commission sees the Afrikaner as belittled and besieged, and warns that those who persist in trifling with their sentiments may soon get bitten.

The matter is dealt with in a section headed: "The most vexing attack upon the Afrikaner and flag-burnings".

Editorial

Its lists two examples of what it terms "an attack on the Afrikaner as a people".

The first is a reported speech by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the second is an editorial in The Argus last June.

The Argus editorial was addressed to Nationalists after the spate of demonstrations which marked the Republic's 20th anniversary festival.

It reads: "They should take a close look at themselves instead of blaming others for the country's troubles.

"It was their idea to have a Republic, their idea to hold a 20-year anniversary festival, their idea to exclude everyone except whites from Government so that only whites would have a reason to celebrate the constitutional system, their idea to have two other public holidays, Kruger Day and the Day of the Vow, which are exclusively Afrikaner occasions."



The Steyn Commission says the anti-Afrikaner sting in the remarks is painfully evident, even though they were addressed to Nationalists.

"Such snappishness, with its clearly racial overtones, serves merely to infect the inhabitants of South Africa with negative and sterile attitudes, can do no good and should, therefore, be desisted from in the common good — also in that of the utterers," says the report.

## Corrective

"And the fact must never be lost sight of that the Afrikaners are not a people who will passively suffer their sentiments to be trifled with in this way. Those

persisting in doing so may soon find a corrective being administered to them in robust and fuller measure than they could most probably have been led to expect," it warns.

Commenting on the burning of the national flag, the commission says: "The burning of the South African flag by those who probably advocate, albeit simplistically, a move to majority rule in a unitary state, is particularly stupid and unfortunate, that flag being so strikingly a symbol not only of unity in diversity but also of how erstwhile foes can become united in pursuit of the great goal of broader and lasting unity," said the report.

## Journalist's Code of Conduct

### This is the Code of Conduct for Journalists, proposed by the Steyn Commission.

1. All journalists are obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively and to comment or criticise fairly and honestly.
2. In so far as news is concerned:
  - (a) News shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from facts, whether by:
    - (i) distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation,
    - (ii) material omissions or,
    - (iii) summarization.
  - (b) only what may reasonably be true having regard to the news source may be presented in facts, and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance, and where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinion, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly.
  - (c) where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof. It shall be verified, and where it has not been practicable to verify the correctness of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report.
  - (d) (i) Where it subsequently appears that a published report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified spontaneously and without reservation or delay.  
(ii) The party aggrieved by such incorrect report shall be afforded the opportunity to reply thereto, such reply to be given, as far as is practicable, the same prominence as the original report, or the prominence agreed upon between the parties concerned.
  - (e) the presentation of reports on court cases and other events involving sex or immorality shall be in such manner that it is not harmful to public morals.
3. In so far as comment is concerned:
  - (a) comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to.
  - (b) Comment shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon
4. In so far as both news and comment are concerned:
  - (a) Due care and responsibility shall be exercised as to:
    - (i) Subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic, religious or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law.
    - (ii) Matters that may detrimentally affect the peace and good order, the safety and defence of the Republic and its people, the economy and the country's international position.
    - (iii) The presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities;
  - (b) Exceptional care and consideration shall be exercised in matters involving the private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that the right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest
  - (c) Honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting shall be promoted.

## Africa's Foster Children

ENGLISH speaking South Africans may one day soon be able to lay claim to being "true children of Africa".

Afrikaners are already in this position, according to the Steyn Commission.

This is how the commission sees the rooting of English and Afrikaner in Africa:

"The Afrikaner is unquestionably a true child of Africa whose vigour and capacity to survive through toughness of spirit and ability to adapt to local conditions can be likened to that of a

plant so deeply rooted in its native soil as not to be blown over or easily withered by political tempests, even though they be roaring 'winds of change'.

"By virtue of their unique position and interaction with the Afrikaner and other people comprising the multi-faceted South African population, the English-speaking South Africans are also becoming an African people with an identity clearly distinct from that of English-speakers elsewhere."

## "Nationalism is the Key to Press Curbs"

IF BLACK nationalism cannot co-exist with Afrikaner nationalism, the Afrikaner is likely to curb the Press for as long as he has political power, according to the Steyn Commission.

Afrikaner nationalism and black ethnic nationalism are described as the two dominant nationalisms in South Africa.

"When the Afrikaans Press promoted Afrikaner nationalism as early as 66 years ago, it was done on a lawful basis without propagating revolution and disaffection.

"This is the fundamental difference between their advocacy journalism and that of contemporary radical black journalism," it says.

### Revolution

That the Afrikaner used voting power to achieve his present position does not justify the black man — who does not have voting power — advocating revolution or the undermining of stability in his journalism.

The situation in South Africa makes it essential to find a solution which accom-

---

*"If black nationalisms are not prepared to allow the co-existence of Afrikaner nationalism, it is likely that the Afrikaner will curb the Press for as long as he has political power and for as long as he anticipates that by curbing the Press or manipulating it to his advantage, it will be an instrument to maintain power."*

---

modates the various nationalisms and, if it cannot be found, not only will the free Press disappear, but in the process of destabilisation the fabric of South African society can be destroyed, says the report.

### Manipulation

The Afrikaner will continue to curb the Press for as long as he has political power, and for as long as he anticipates that by curbing the Press — or manipulating it to his advantage — it will be an instrument for maintaining his power, says the commission.

## Corking Up the Vox Pop Threat

DID you know that listening to your favourite pop radio station could expose you to the dangers of drug-taking, depravity, homosexuality, permissiveness and even political subversion?

So claimed one witness who gave evidence before the Steyn Commission, which has now asked the SABC to take "serious cognisance of the dangers" and to instruct pop disc jockeys to exercise "greater circumspection".

## 'Pornographic'

Under the heading "The SABC and the Modern Idiom", the report says that one witness in particular drew attention to the "dangerous effect on young and impressionable" listeners of some of the pop music broadcast, especially on Radio 5 and Springbok Radio features such as the "Top Twenty".

"The witness elaborated on the morality and politically subversive nature of the words set to many popular tunes — words with political, heretical, anti-social and even pornographic undertones," the report says.

"According to her submission, much of the pop music by popular overseas entertainers is calculated to encourage depravity, homosexuality, permissiveness and even political subversion.

"This type of music, together with the blatant words of some of the songs can have a lethally dangerous effect on the youth by

gradually eroding their moral fibre," the report says.

Calling on the SABC to exercise greater care, the commission says: "An example of the need for greater care in the selection of what is to be broadcast is evident by the playing of the banned song 'We Shall Overcome' in a recent programme."

## No privileges

JOURNALISTS do not warrant any legal privileges in court to protect their sources of information, says the Steyn Commission.

It says however, that section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which has been used against several journalists to force them to disclose the source of their information in court, should be used only as a "last resort" and only after "careful consideration in serious and deserving circumstances."

## 'Dirty Tricks Dept is Needed'

SOUTH Africa should have a separate and fully autonomous information organisation with its own "dirty tricks" department — but subject to strict auditing, says the Steyn Commission.

It calls for the formulation of a proper "information and communications policy" and says that "after careful consideration of the salient facts we have come to the conclusion that the conduct of Government and its institutions does have the effect of obstructing the media unnecessarily in the performance of their task."

It recommends the "amendment and or repeal of non-essential restrictive legislation and regulations pertaining to the publication of information."

The Commission's report describes the country's current information effort as "puny" and says: "Clearly, in the light of the demotivating effect of the Info Scandal and the lethal threats to the RSA and its people, drastic action will have to be taken urgently to create an effective information service."

The nature of the propaganda onslaught against South Africa required continuous adjustments of its information and communications approach both internally and externally.

At one stage the report says:

"In our view the present total psychological onslaught conducted by enemies of the Republic is almost overwhelming in volume, virulence and expertise and the counter-strategy of the RSA is totally inadequate."

It described the function of an information service as far wider than mere dissemination of facts and newsworthy items. Its ultimate purpose was to convince people and to strengthen spiritual preparedness.

"The central information mechanism that we propose should have as its aim and object the engendering of positive attitudes towards the Republic. In attaining this objective it should use all means at its disposal," says the report.

The commission says that the information policy should follow the broad guidelines of openness and responsibility set out by the Prime Minister in April 1979.

The commission recommends the immediate removal of the Government information function from the Department of Foreign Affairs and the reconstitution of the Information branch in such a manner that it is not tied to any particular department but that it functions autonomously.

**L**ET there be no illusions about it: if implemented, the Steyn Commission proposals for a statutory Press council and state-controlled register of journalists will be a massive, perhaps fatal, assault on your right to be kept informed of what is happening in your own country.

It does not matter that the commission believes it is protecting Press freedom. The harsh reality is that it is opening the way to destroying it. It is putting into the hands of the Government an ultimate deterrent in dealing with newspapers.

That is not an emotional judgment. It is a realistic one. The entire newspaper industry, possibly every editor in the country, academics of diverse political persuasions and the official Opposition in Parliament are all against a Government-imposed register and statutory council. Only the wickedly malicious would argue that all these people simply want a charter to let the Press be irresponsible or unpatriotic.

No, all these people believe that the job of keeping the public informed will become well-nigh impossible if the Steyn proposals are adopted.

The issue, therefore, is very simple: Do South Africans want to accept such a drastic diminution of a basic right? A case study might serve to illustrate part of the danger.

If there had been a register and statutory Press Council in existence when the Information Department scandal was beginning to burst on an unsuspecting public, history might have taken a different course. The Government would have demanded an immediate inquiry into what it then labelled as scandalous and irresponsible journalism.

Twelve people would have sat in judgment. The government's three nominees on this hypothetical council would have supported its view. The three SABC nominees--loyal

to an institution that steadfastly refused to present anything but the Mulder-Rhoodie view on Info, and which the Steyn Commission has found to favour the Government -- would have voted with them. That leaves six.

At this time several Nationalist newspapers were also criticising the opposition Press for "irresponsibility". Only one of the remaining six council votes would have been needed to ensure painful retribution for an Info journalist and newspaper silence thereafter. Newspaper "misconduct" would have been punished, an Info journalist perhaps barred from ever practising his profession again, the real and monstrous misconduct of the Government covered up.

The seemingly reasonable rationale of the commission should not mislead the public.

Why should journalists not be "professionalised"? If lawyers and doctors and accountants all have registers, why not media people too? Are newspapers afraid to submit themselves to such disciplines?

No, the difference between journalism and other professions in this respect is sharp and indisputable. There are objective standards that can be applied to test whether doctors, lawyers and accountants are irresponsible or have been guilty of misconduct. So too are there if journalists lie or distort or publish falsehoods. But there are already remedies in law and elsewhere for that kind of problem. A Press council is not needed for that.

The real role of a Press council would be far more sinister.

Loaded in favour of Government, it would sit in judgment on essentially political issues. And report back to a Cabinet Minister too!

The proposed "standards" to be enforced by this council are -- to quote an esteemed former editor -- vague, equivocal, tendentious and unascertainable. Who could possibly remove the political loading from concepts like "responsibility", "in the national interest", and so on? It can't be done.



The proper job of a free Press is to convey as much information as it can; to promote the free debate so vital to this country's future. The Press council's function will be to serve — wittingly or unwittingly, it does not matter — the Government's purpose and silence this debate, make it sterile and futile.

If that sounds like an epitaph for a free Press it is because it is one.

Steyn: No Comment

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Feb 82 pp 2, 3, 8, 9

[Article by Chris Freimond]

[Text] MR JUSTICE M T Steyn clammed up on his controversial report yesterday and referred all queries and requests for comment to the Government.

Speaking from Cape Town he said: "What I have to say is to be said in the report. I've got nothing further to add. I think that from now on any comment that has to be made is the prerogative of the Government itself. It would be improper for me to add anything to what is contained in the report."

Judge Steyn was approached for clarification on a number of issues in the report including:

- Whether it was envisaged by the commission that journalists working outside SA and supplying news to the local media would also have to register. If they refused, SA could face an international news blackout.

### Subversive

- The definition of "subversive" where it relates to a section of the draft legislation which proposes that journalists convicted of "subversive" activities be barred from working as journalists for SA publications.

- An explanation of how the commission expected the

draft legislation on limited share holding in newspaper companies to operate, and how it was envisaged to overcome the massive practical problems involved in implementing the law.

- Whether he did not consider the proposals on limited share holding to be totally contrary to the Government's commitment to free enterprise, and against the grain of basic business practices throughout the West.

- What the position of certain black editors of South African publications would be if all editors had to be SA citizens. Some blacks have

been forced to take out citizenship of independent homelands even though they still live and work permanently in South Africa.

- Why a 12-member statutory controlling body was proposed which is obviously heavily weighted in favour of the Government.

Judge Steyn said yesterday that it was up to the Government to interpret the draft legislation.

To add anything to what he said in the report would be "almost like a judge, having delivered judgment, amplifying it orally outside court afterwards," he said.

### Bill Would Mean No Black Editors

MILLIONS of South African-born people will be barred from becoming editors of newspapers in the country of their birth if the Steyn Commission's draft Bill to "professionalise the media" becomes law.

It proposes to outlaw the appointment of "any person who is not a South African citizen" to the editorship or even acting editorship of a publication.

The Bill does not make provision for the millions of blacks who were born South African nationals but who were stripped of South African nationality and citizenship when Transkei, Bo-

phuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei became independent states.

More than 7 100 000 South African-born blacks have been deprived of South African citizenship since Transkei became independent in October 1976, of whom more than 3 000 000 live permanently in white-designated South Africa.

None of the 3 000 000 who have to earn their living in South Africa will be eligible to become editors, no matter how good a journalist they are, if the Steyn Commission's proposal becomes law.

"It's crazy," Mr Joe Latakomo editor of The Sowetan, said yesterday.

If official policy is pushed to its logical conclusion and all homelands became independent, no black will be able to become an editor because there will be no black South Africans, he added.

Mr Obed Kunene, editor of the Zulu-language newspa-

per Ilanga, said: "It is a dreadful, frightening prospect, which confirms our fears about the policy of giving sham independence to so-called black states."

He labelled the threatened exclusion of millions of blacks from the chance of becoming an editor as inherently unjust.

## Totality

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic As-

sociation, said: "It is impossible to comment on one aspect of the report because of the overwhelming totality of the report."

Of the report generally, he said: "Here are a set of proposals intended for the promotion of a white-minority kaner hegemony — and to equate dissent with treason."

If the recommendations are accepted, it will mean men who have detained blacks, banned their organi-

sations and leaders and deprived them of South African citizenship will be protected even from verbal protest by the black community, he added.

"One can only hope the Government will have a spark of decency and reject some of these proposals."

Mr Justice Steyn declined to comment yesterday on the proposed clause barring non-South African citizens from becoming editors.

Steyn: 'Just as I Feared'

**JOEL MERVIS** long ago advised the Steyn Commission to quit. But they went ahead. Now Mr Mervis, MPC and a distinguished former editor, says: I told you so!

**GROTESQUE.** And totally irreconcilable with the concept of a free Press.

That is probably a fair comment on the report of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Press.

The gulf between Steyn-style censorship on the one hand, and Press freedom on the other, is as wide as the gulf which separates the philosophies of Pravda and Izvestia from the ideas of Thomas Jefferson.

If the proposals put forward by the commission were translated into law, Press freedom in South Africa would become as dead as it was in Amin's Uganda, or in Hitler's Germany or in Soviet Russia today.

The commission cannot say it wasn't warned. At a preliminary hearing I beseeched the commission to give up the assignment — and quit.

I warned, in effect, that the Government's terms of reference were so tendentious, so slanted and so tainted that the entire work of the commission itself would become tainted, with the result that Press freedom stood more chance of being mutilated than protected.

My warning was not heeded; and the meddling, officious muddle I feared has all come true. Indeed, the Steyn report probably ranks with

Dr Connie Mulder's notorious Press Bill of 1977 as the most pernicious threat to the Press in recent years.

Dr Mulder's Bill was happily withdrawn by a shame-faced government. Let us hope the present Government will have the sense to disavow the Steyn report.

What, then, is wrong with the Steyn report?

First, there is its assumption that because South Africa, and particularly the Nationalist Government, face serious political problems of many kinds, the way to cope with these is to muzzle the Press — or, at least, to impose restraints which would have roughly the same effect.

## Threatened

The commission takes its cue from the assumption that our society could be threatened by a danger so great that its very existence is at stake.

If that were indeed true, it is fanciful to imply either that the Press is responsible for the threat, or that the danger would vanish if the Press were gagged.

Yet, if a gag has to be imposed, the difficulty is to invoke it without it actually looking like a gag. The commission has devised an ingenious method for this purpose — a Journalists' register, whose terms read like the sound of the rattle of chains.

Such a device will not be unresponsive to a government that has long since ceased to worry about a trifle like subverting the rule of law. It is not likely to have any sleepless nights about another little trifle like Press control.

The proposed register of

journalists would represent the imposition of Press control by means of fear and duress. The disarming essay in euphemism by means of which it is hoped to disguise this monstrous register is the proposition that a talented group, such as journalists, deserve the honour of becoming "professionalised".

Doctors, after all, are a noble group of professional men, and they willingly go on to a register (from which they can be struck off should the need arise).

So why not extend a similar courtesy to journalists? "Professionalise" them as well, and put them on a register (from which they can also be struck off, should the need arise.)

The analogy drawn by the Steyn Commission is a false one. Doctors have a professional code which is clear, and concise, with a simple, ascertainable meaning. By contrast, the Code of Conduct which the Steyn Commission proposes for journalists can mean 10 different things to 10 different people.

How can an editor be expected to run a newspaper which is consistent, accurate and meaningful in such circumstances? Take this example of what could happen in practice under the Steyn code.

The code provides that "... facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance". So, on a cold winter's night, a posse of policemen pounce on squatters in Nyanga and drive them forcibly from their miserable shelters.

Editor A publishes the news boldly on page one as the main report of the day. Editor B prints half a column



on page 15. Editor C decides that squatters are of no interest to anyone and publishes nothing at all.

## Cut off

Each editor has presumably paid "due regard to context and importance". Which one of them has contravened the code? More important, which one should be struck off the register? And would the person to be struck off be the same person regardless of whether the decision to strike him off was taken by Dr Piet Koornhof, Mrs Helen Suzman or Dr Andries Treurnicht?

The Press register, the relative ease with which journalists can be sacked and the tendentious Press code really go to the heart of the matter — and they combine to make the report totally objectionable and an affront to Press freedom.

Someone once said editing

a paper in South Africa was like walking blind-fold through a mine-field. We are fast moving to the stage, where it will probably be said that editing a paper in South Africa is like sitting at a desk with someone pointing a loaded gun at your head.

Press freedom means editorial independence, coupled with professional skill, expertise and experience, enabling the journalist to publish news that by any civilised standards in any civilised democracy is regarded as acceptable.

It is those norms of newspaper practice, and those accepted civilised standards, which the Steyn report now seeks to eradicate. In this instance it is not the alternative but the actuality which is too ghastly to contemplate.

I did not expect the Steyn report to make life easier for the Press; but I am frankly astounded that it has gone as

far as it has done in its grandiose assault upon the basic and elementary concepts upon which Press freedom rests.

The commission's views, one must accept, are sincerely held. They mirror in turn, the desperate attitude of a totalitarian government, which is steadily being driven to further excesses in its disavowal of democracy, and of civilised democratic values.

Detention without trial, summary banishment, house arrest, emasculation of the powers of the judges, denial of citizen rights to the vast majority of citizens — when these things come, can the death of Press freedom be far behind?

If any patriot seeks a title for the Steyn Report, I suggest "Fourteen hundred pages that should never have been written."

## Survival for Whom?

AMONG its myriad and far-ranging comments, musings and philosophisings, the Steyn Commission report also said a strange thing about English-speaking South Africans. It spoke of the Afrikaner being "unquestionably a true child of Africa", and went on to note, in contrast, that English-speakers, "by virtue of their unique position and interaction with the Afrikaner and other people comprising the multi-faceted South African population", were also becoming an African people.

Not yet, mind you.

The commission's disparagement of English South Africans seems inexplicable at first. However, perhaps it starts becoming understandable when other comments are examined, namely the series of aggressive statements concerning the attitudes of some Afrikaners.

There is the description of Afrikaners as belittled and besieged, with the warning that those who persist in trifling with their sentiments may soon get bitten. There is the plain derision of English-speaking South Africans with the comment, put as a question, that Afrikaners have been able to outwit them for more than a century.

There is also what must be one of the most self-revealing statements in the report: that if black nationalism cannot co-exist with Afrikaner nationalism, "it is likely that the Afrikaner will curb the Press for as long as he has political power and for as long as he anticipates that by curbing the Press or manipulating it to his advantage, it will be an instrument to maintain power."

These various statements are disconcerting to those — such as ourselves — who believe that Afrikaner-English enmity is a ghost that has been laid. Here is a commission inquiring into the media expressing an Afrikaner prejudice to a degree that is seldom, if ever, openly heard these days.

Regrettable as this is, if only because of the danger inherent in it of fuelling wider passions, in turn it also becomes understandable in light of the commission's overall approach to the issue of the media.

For what is clear is that the commission's outlook is not that of a broad South Africanism. Instead its outlook derives from a nar-

row spectrum of interest. It begins by looking at South Africa through the eyes of whites; still more, through the eyes of conservative whites; and still more, through the eyes of white Afrikaner Nationalists.

That some of the members of the commission might not be either Nationalists or Afrikaners does not matter. The stamp of the severely restricted outlook is firmly imprinted on the report.

Hence those who support the present Nationalist Government are praised for their "moderation". Those who oppose the Government and whose belief in all of South Africa's peoples drives them to point to injustices and to call for remedies are branded as knaves and worse.

As we say, it is revealing of Afrikaner Nationalist attitudes and of determination to hold on to power, come what may. That is what is conveyed in the report and its recommendations: the remnant of Press freedom must be destroyed because it is viewed as a threat to the survival of narrow interest.

#### Editors' Objections to Registration

[Text] Should there be a register of journalists? After all, doctors, lawyers, architects and others are controlled by registers. The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media has proposed an all-embracing register. But all responsible editors and journalists, the SASJ, the journalists' trade union, and the Newspaper Press Union, the newspaper proprietors' organisation, have expressed themselves vigorously against a register. Below is a report by CHRIS FREIMOND on the objections raised by the editors, and the evidence given to the commission by RAYMOND LOUW, general manager of SAAN and a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, on behalf of the NPU.

In spite of strong and united opposition from newspaper editors and proprietors to legislative control of the Press — particularly to a compulsory register of journalists — the Steyn Commission has recommended laws to achieve this.

The commission's report, tabled in Parliament this week, rejects the warnings of more than a dozen leading editors and the Newspaper Press Union that further legislative curbs on the Press will amount to a grave disservice to South Africa, and will rank the country alongside some of the world's most abhorrent authoritarian regimes.

Proposed legislation in the report provides for a widely empowered General Council for Journalists with 12 members, three appointed by the Government, three from the SABC, three representing magazines and three from newspapers.

There would be a Code of Conduct, and the compulsory registration of journalists. Contraventions of the code would be punishable by fines, suspension, or banning from working as a journalist in South Africa, or for a South African publication.

In evidence to the commission in Cape Town last January, the NPU — whose members include the four companies which publish all South Africa's major daily and weekend newspapers — listed the countries with compulsory registration of journalists.

These were: Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Panama, Venezuela and Nicaragua. The only other countries in which governments decided who could work as journalists were behind the Iron Curtain.

## Responsibility

In France, Belgium and Italy, journalists themselves had instituted non-compulsory registration, the NPU said.

It also opposed a code of conduct for individual journalists. They were already subject to the Press Council's code, and could be dismissed for contravening it.

In the NPU's opinion, responsibility for reports in newspapers lay with the editors.

And leading editors themselves agreed in essence with this view. They were unanimous in their rejection of further statutory control of the Press.

● Mr Rex Gibson, Editor of the Rand Daily Mail (then editor of the Sunday Express) said the disadvantages of "professionalising" journalism — including a compulsory register of journalists — would greatly outweigh any possible advantages.

● Mr Harald Pakendorf, of Die Vaderland, rejected any further curbs on the Press. He said newspapermen were so ensnared by legislation that it took great practice to work within the restrictions in daily operations.

## Mistakes

He said: "Indeed, the wonder of the Press in our country is not that it makes mistakes, is irresponsible and breaks the law — but rather that so few mistakes are made, that the Press acts so responsibly in the inflammable situation in which we live, and that the law is so seldom broken."

Mr Pakendorf said the Press would welcome from the Government:

- Statutory recognition of the right to free and uncontrolled information, and individual opinion as fundamental rights;

- An attempt to streamline and codify the "minefield" of laws and regulations affecting the Press;

- An official policy statement that information channels from the authorities to the Press must exist and remain open.

Even though these rights constituted a "calculated risk" which could lead, now and then, to "destabilisation", a society without them was one in which "civilised, democratic people did not want to live," Mr Pakendorf said.

● Mr Harvey Tyson, of The Star, said the proposed register would lead to some of the finest people in journalism in South Africa leaving the craft.

It would allow the Government to disqualify journalists from working for newspapers if it disagreed with what they wrote irrespective of whether it was factually accurate or not.

He disagreed with a member of the commission, Mr Klaus von Lieres, that a statutory body controlling journalism could help lessen the tensions between State and Press, and stop creeping restrictive legislation. The Press Council had been up-

graded in 1977 with this in mind, but tensions and pressure from the State had in fact increased.

● Dr Willem de Klerk, of Die Transvaler, rejected any further curbs on the Press by the Government. He proposed that the Press itself establish machinery to "strengthen its political responsibility and answerability."

● Mr Andrew Drysdale, of the Pretoria News, said the proposal for a register "smacks of censorship, and the dangers in it are akin to controlling thought processes."

● Mr Ton Vosloo, of Beeld, suggested that instead of further curbs on the Press, the commission recommend to the Government a revision of all existing legislation affecting the Press.

● Mr Michael Green, of the Durban Daily News, said any further Press curbs would do more to weaken the country's reputation than any "adverse" reports sent overseas.

● Mr Richard Steyn, of the Natal Witness, said that a Press Council with Government appointees as members would in effect mean a Government influenced Press.

● Mr Tony Heard, of the Cape Times, said he believed that if the views of all South Africa's newspaper editors were canvassed, most — if not all — would oppose registration.

● Mr Stephen Mulholland, of the Financial Mail, rejected proposals for a register.

● Mr Allister Sparks, then Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, said he believed a register would be used by the Government as a pretext for action to further limit Press freedom.

He said most journalists he knew were deeply apprehensive of the interest the commission was showing in the register concept. If there was a need to "professionalise"

journalism, the move should come from journalists themselves.

● Mr Tertius Myburgh, of the Sunday Times, said the registration concept would be "repellent" to most journalists, and would increase the tendency to keep people out of journalism.

● Mr Harry O'Connor, recently retired editor of the Eastern Province Herald, was "appalled" by the idea of a register of journalists.

## Political

He said: "If — as I most firmly believe — the motive of such control is political, the career of every journalist on such a register will be subject to attack, for political reasons, no matter how the intention is covered up."

● Mr Benjamin Pogrand, Deputy Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, said a register would interfere with the "spirit" of the Press in South Africa.

● Mr James Clarke, an assistant editor on The Star, rejected the register idea.

A number of other leading newspaper figures rejected further curbs in evidence to the commission. They included:

● Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of the Sunday Times, described proposed registration as "highly sinister and dangerous".

● Mr James McClurg, Ombudsman of the Rand Daily Mail, said of the proposed register: "Since the Press itself is opposed to the proposal, and there is certainly no public pressure for it, there can surely be only one inference: the supposed benefit flowing from the register would be the power it would give the authorities to remove from the practice of journalism anyone who incurred their displeasure."

## What's So Special About Journalists?

A REGISTER sounds attractive and desirable because professional bodies have adopted this form of control for their professions and they appear to work well. So should there not be a

similar controlling body for journalists?

The Newspaper Press Union believes that a register would be an intrusion on the freedom of the Press and a form of restraint and control that would be unacceptable. Indeed, far from improving standards, the NPU

believes a register is likely to emasculate the Press.

This is because:

● The practice of journalism does not lend itself to a professional register. The principal of a register for journalists cannot be equated with registers for doctors, lawyers, accountants and so on. In these professions practitioners can be arraigned before their peers for conduct involving their honesty and their judgment when it is negligently or criminally exercised in the technical conduct of their professional operations.

## Complaints

Generally they are all people practising on their own or in partnership and charging fees for their services. Apart from the laws of the country the public and their fellow practitioners have no other means of redressing complaint and some of the complaints do not fall within the ambit of common or statute law.

● Journalists are employees working under the authority of the editor and his senior staff. Their published work is the result of joint effort involving others — reporters, sub editors, day or night editors, quality controllers, and so on. They do not always act in their own right and the area of their responsibility for a published report cannot always be demarcated. They do not sell their services directly to the public as professional people do. Their performance is caught up in the general standard of the newspaper and should those standards be criminally or ethically at fault the newspaper can be arraigned before the courts of the country or the Press Council.

● Where a journalist can be identified as the author of an article that article will generally be a feature which may relate to an assessment of the current political situation, the rise of Black Power, the cause of rioting, violence or crime or the security of the state or any number of subjects.

At the other end of the scale, it could also be a humorous article on the sex-life of secretaries or the likely outcome of the Metropolitan Stakes.

● How would such a register be conducted?

How would the registering authority or the disciplinary tribunal deal with complaints? What standards would it require of journalists applying for registration.

How would a leading article be judged, especially if the complaint was that the views expressed in it were extremely or did not take cognisance of all the facts? Whose judgment would be generally acceptable? The answer is that it will remain a matter of political controversy.

● Let us relate the complaint to a politician making a public speech or an address to Parliament.

The content of the speech might be no different to the leading article. Would one contemplate a register of politicians? Certainly not. It would be unthinkable because it would be a fundamental interference with the basic right in a democracy for a person to express his views and represent his fellow men and women in the political forums of the country. And it would be impracticable.

## Judgment

Who would be the judges? Should there be such a register of politicians and should there be a complaint against one for dealing with the rise of Black Power in a speech, whose judgment of the acceptability of the speech would be acceptable? Were the registering authority's disciplinary tribunal composed of HNP sympathisers or secret members of the Wit Kommando, would a Nationalist, or a member of the NRP or of the PFP be prepared to be judged by it?

Certainly not, because the likelihood is that the person complained against would not get a fair hearing. The tribunal could only judge the content of the speech from the standpoint of HNP or Wit Kommando policy depending on which faction composed the tribunal.

This obviously is far-fetched and unthinkable when related to politicians but is it very different in concept to journalists with differing attitudes to political and other questions being

judged by people with differing or diametrically opposite views? They simply would not obtain a fair hearing and it would be impossible to achieve one.

● The objection to having a register of politicians because it would be a basic breach of democratic principle also applies to journalists. The journalist has no more and no fewer rights than the ordinary citizen — and aspires to no other status — and a register would be a serious intrusion into those rights. He has the right, as any person has, of telling others what is happening in the community and what his views are on those happenings.

● The NPU and journalists have a deep fear of the instrument of registration because they believe it can be used to penalise them for practising their craft vigorously to the possible embarrassment of vested interest and authority — the classic role of the "watchdog Press".

## Accuracy

Journalists would have to prove the accuracy of what they have published or that they took reasonable steps to ensure accuracy. This could be extremely difficult because of the problems that arise over the identification of sources (which in most of the cases could not be identified). There would also be the subjective approach by the members of the tribunal to the journalist's views.

There is a strong likelihood that the findings would be against the journalist and this could lead to a loss of livelihood not so much because of a professional misdemeanour but because the views published were not acceptable. The natural result would be for journalists to be more concerned about their own welfare than the public interest.

● Thus the standard of journalism would drop rather than improve. This would lead to what we can best describe as a "Prisons Act effect" on journalism where journalists leave the subject strictly alone because of their fear of being convicted under the Act.

## Censure



● Lawyers and doctors need never fear they will be penalised for crusading for better standards of hospital or legal practice whereas journalists would fear that their striving for improvements in the social or political order would be subject to severe censure.

● How would a journalist be defined? Would a contributor be one? A letter-writer? Or only a letter-writer whose letter has been converted to a feature article? What about country correspondents of newspapers who are frequently the town clerk of a town or a person who has some other major occupation? What about crossword compilers, cartoonists, photographers, overseas contributors?

● How would the register be applied to papers other than the big dailies Sundays and provincial weeklies, opinion sheets, ethnic publications, specialist magazines where the writing is done by people whose knowledge of their specialisation is of greater value than their knowledge of journalism, the technical aspects of which may be handled by printers.

How would it apply to student publications where professional journalism is largely absent but student enthusiasm is a major component?

● As soon as we move from the big newspapers it becomes apparent that a register would encroach on a citizen's rights to make himself heard — or read — by the publication of his thoughts and views. And if registration is limited to the major media it immediately becomes apparent that it will be a restraint on the free Press.

## Permission

● Would overseas publica-

tions be exempted from the provisions of the register? It is presumed that if there is a register publishers will be legally bound not to employ people who are not on the register or to publish "non-register" work. Or would overseas publications be banned thus interfering with the public's right to know? After all, overseas lawyers and doctors can only practise here with special permission.

● How would the standards be set? Some journalists are excellent writers but poor print technicians, others poor or indifferent writers but excellent gatherers of information, or possessed of a particular specialist knowledge. Others are magnificent political analysts but poor reporters and hopeless sub-editors. Others superb sub-editors with highly developed craft knowledge but poor writing and news-gathering skills.

● Are the requirements of a sports reporter the same as a court reporter, a political correspondent, a financial writer, or a cartoonist? Or would different standards be set?

● The International Press Institute with a membership of 2 000 editors and publishers throughout the "free" world has firmly rejected a register of journalists because it can be used as a punitive weapon.

## Corrective

So has the Royal Commission on the Press (1977) which was chaired by Lord McGregor. The South African Society of Journalists has also rejected it and now the NPU also rejects the proposal.

The proper corrective we believe is the normal disciplinary action of employers. They discharge journalists or

discipline them. The standards are raised by training schemes and on-going training in the newspaper environment. But there has never been any real call for a register before this commission came into being.

I would like to put forward a few general thoughts about Press freedom in a democratic country. I am sure my colleagues will agree with them.

Democracy has been described as the best of a number of bad governmental systems. The others may ensure that the trains run on time but the rights of the individual to opportunity and a free way of life are destroyed.

## Fundamentals

The same argument applies to newspapers in a democracy. As soon as they become subject to special controls such as registers of journalists, the fundamentals change and though superficially the controls appear to create a more efficient and accurate Press, in reality the essential freedom of the individual is being destroyed and with it the institution of a free Press and finally the country because it will no longer be adequately informed.

In short, a free Press with no other controls than those that apply to the individual — and by that is meant the laws of the country — may not be regarded as the most accurate or the most efficient or effective, but it will be the best to ensure the freedom of the individual and the maintenance of the democratic way of life.

It is better that there should be an abuse of freedom or many abuses of freedom rather than one restriction on freedom.

HUGE OVERSEAS LOAN FOR SOWETO COUNCIL NEGOTIATED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Lawrence Mayekiso]

[Text]

**THE Soweto Council is negotiating a huge overseas loan amounting to millions of rands in an effort to raise funds for the development of Soweto.**

But the negotiations are being kept a close secret by the hierarchy of the Soweto Council, according to an informed source.

The Citizen's source, who preferred to remain anonymous, said the money was being raised in the European money market.

It is understood that a German finance institution is negotiating with other European finance houses to help raise the loan for the Soweto Council.

Late last year the executive officer of the Soweto Council, Mr Nico Malan and Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the council, made a hurried two weeks' trip to Germany to hold preliminary talks on the loan.

In the centre of the negotiations is the West Rand Administration Board, which is

acting behind the scenes on behalf of the Soweto Council.

Finances of the Soweto Council, a local authority for Johannesburg Blacks living in Soweto, are controlled, kept and directed by Wrab.

It is expected that indications whether the money will be forthcoming or not from overseas will be made towards the end of this month.

The South African Government is ready to guarantee the repayment of the loan.

Our source said negotiations for the loan have now reached an advanced stage.

The South African Government has guaranteed repayment of a R150-million lent the Soweto Council by a consortium of South African banks for the electrification of Soweto.

Mr David Thebehali made an unsuccessful attempt four years ago to raise funds from the United States for the redevelopment of Soweto.

Hence attempts to

raise the funds from Europe.

In the redevelopment process the aim is to give Soweto a new facelift and give it the appearance of a city.

"That is why the Soweto Council is sending out questionnaires to employers of Soweto residents to state how much they pay their workers. This is so the council can determine whether its residents will be able to meet the expected rise in their living standards," our source said.

So far, Soweto residents are already facing payment of monthly rents of R40 for council houses plus an additional R30, a month for the use of electricity.

The rise in rents is being attributed to the rise in service charges, which are expected to rise as labour costs and the price of commodities rise.



## VARIATIONS OF NATION'S POLITICAL MOOD EVALUATED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 1 Feb 82 p 9

[Article by Hermann Giliomee: "A Foot in the Door of Reform"]

[Text]

**T**HE South African political mood is a rollercoaster of hope and despair.

At the end of 1979 the public perception was that Mr P W Botha was a dynamic leader who was outflanking and outwitting the Rightwing of his party in embarking on a programme of comprehensive reform that would go a long way towards meeting black needs and aspirations.

The current mood is starkly different.

Mr Botha is now seen as a weak, vacillating leader held captive by his Rightwing headed by Dr Andries Treurnicht, who looks set to take over the leadership when Botha fades from the scene.

Reform has been pronounced dead.

Both these interpretations reflect a serious misunderstanding of our political situation.

Let us look first at the 1979 reformist euphoria. Mr Botha never intended to turn South Africa into a more democratic state. He has all along wanted to make it a more efficient one, hence all the administrative tightening up.

Secondly, Mr Botha has never contemplated announcing bold political reforms.

However, he has set in train or accelerated certain social and economic processes (improving black education, stepping up of regional development and curbing State expenditure) that will change South Africa gradually but fundamentally.

Lastly, while Mr Botha was and still is quite happy (unlike Mr Vorster) to see a small Rightwing splinter leaving his party, he is not prepared to do anything that would split his political base down the middle.

## Pessimistic

This does not mean the pessimistic interpretation of early 1982 is correct.

Mr Botha's reputation as a leader and as a reformer has received a serious blow, but only the foolish would write him off.

The Botha Cabinet's commitment to achieve *gelykberegtiging*, or equal treatment by the State, between white and black in the fields of education, labour legislation, etc, is fundamentally important and I do not expect Mr Botha to back off from that goal.

Mr Botha will remain a formidable political manager and disciplinarian of his party.

What he seems to have lost is his 1979 image as a heroic leader who would give South Africa a much-needed common vision and purpose, and who could overcome the opposition of political stand-patters and obstructionist bureaucrats.

In short, a man who on his own can affect the turn of events. That, unfortunately, Mr Botha is not.

To pronounce reform dead is also rather risky — indeed as risky as Dr Koornhof's statement that apartheid is dead.

Much of the confusion among South Africans in talking about whether reform has prevailed over apartheid is due to our tendency to use reform in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain as the model.

There, certain Acts, particularly the Reform Act of 1832, stood out as clear landmarks in the progression towards a more just and democratic society.

Reform in South Africa by contrast is a slow and messy process rather than a bold act.

Harvard University's Professor Samuel P Huntington, an authority on the subject, makes a valuable distinction between two broad strategies for reform.

In the *blitzkrieg* strategy, the reformer announces his goals at an early time and presses for as many as he can in the hope of gaining as much as possible.

The alternative strategy is the foot-in-the-door approach where the reformer

conceals his aims, separates the reforms from each other and pushes for one change at a time.

According to Prof Huntington the most effective method of reform is the combination of the foot-in-the-door strategy with blitzkrieg tactics.

An excellent example of reform as a gradual and messy process where the reformer astutely employed such a blitzkrieg strategy with the foot-in-the-door approach, is the labour reforms handled by Mr Fanie Botha.

The essence of the Wiehahn reports was that the viability and validity of a reformed labour order would depend directly on whether the principle of freedom of association can be implemented.

The Government in 1979 accepted the principle of freedom of association, but then proceeded to violate it in principle by excluding migrants and commuters, refusing to register mixed unions and laying down stringent provisions for registration.

Several informed analysts at various moments in 1979 and 1980 declared that their high hopes for reform were dashed.

Mr Fanie Botha confounded the critics. He first eroded the restrictions through ministerial exemptions. Later freedom of association was formally extended to migrants and commuters.

The tough requirements for registration still violate the principle, making it objectionable to most black unions.

But these requirements are being toned down and the trend is towards a situation where the purpose of registration would be more to protect union members than to enable the State to exercise control.

## Gradual

The reforms have been a gradual and messy process, which the foot-in-the-door approach inevitably dictates, but within three years South Africa has moved far towards achieving the goal of freedom of association in industrial relations.

Once the State recognised the principle of freedom of association, albeit in a limited sense, forces were unleashed that are gradually prevailing over the structures laid down by Government.

I believe much the same will happen in the field of education reform.

Here too we have a fundamentally important commitment by the State, namely to strive purposefully towards equal op-

portunities for education for every inhabitant of the State.

And as in the case of the labour reforms, the Minister in charge is convinced of the need for far-reaching change, thinks strategically about how to achieve his goals and possesses the intellectual resources to prevail over his adversaries in arguments.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen in fact starts with almost the same foot-in-the-door position as Mr Fanie Botha did in 1979.

In response to the De Lange proposals, the Government has also accepted the principle of freedom of association in educational matters but with a proviso that negates that principle, namely that it can only be exercised within the framework of segregated schools.

Yet there is also the acceptance by the State of the obligation to provide equal opportunities. Unless one believes the Government to be completely cynical about these matters, one expects that the overriding question will soon become. By what means can the State attain the goal of equal opportunities?

The Government does not have the financial resources to bring per capita spending on blacks to the present level of whites. Nor does it have a mandate to desegregate State schools.

This leaves the private schools as the only avenue. If the De Lange proposal that State aid to private schools should be given on a similar basis as that recommended for Government schools is implemented, a situation will soon arise where one would have a rapidly growing pupil population in integrated private schools and a declining number of pupils in State schools.

The Government has also committed itself to the goal of equal standards for education.

At a first glance it looks as if the Government, by insisting on the retention of separate education departments for each population group will make it impossible to attain that aim and that the stigma of "coloured" or "Bantu education" will remain.

But here too the foot of a determined reformer is in the door.

It is not impossible, indeed it is quite likely, that South Africa will fairly soon move to a dispensation where a multi-racial body (similar to the National Manpower Commission in the labour field) will lay down common standards for all schools, issuing instructions to the various

operational departments which serve the different population groups.

South Africa's manpower needs will simply not tolerate the perpetuation of the present inferior black education.

This prognosis is not to suggest that reforms will effectively defuse the time-bomb of black education; indeed it is almost inevitable that there will be a recurrence of school boycotts, particularly as so many of previous promises have not yet been kept.

However, it does imply that there is considerable scope for significant reform of the education system.

## Messy process

There is one provision, though. Much will depend on whether business and black politicians and influential educationists, like Professor De Lange, Mr Franklin Sonn and other leaders of the commission, will press hard enough to expedite the messy process of reform.

With the collapse of Mr Botha's 1979 image of a heroic leader, they should realise that if they are serious about reform they will have to push all that harder.

They will in fact have to get down in the political scrum and risk getting their noses bloodied.

One of the first to realise this was Mr Chris Saunders, chairman of the Tongaat Group, who recently remarked that where the State lags behind, it increasingly becomes the task of business to promote reforms — even if it means bending restrictive laws.

Do labour and education reforms say anything about the big question — whether South Africa is drifting towards a more democratic or a more authoritarian society?

A categorical answer is difficult, since the many negative signals (security legislation, more Press curbs, etc) conflict with the positive ones.

However, it must surely rate as a positive sign if a regime plans to increase the quality and quantity of education.

In 1980 the increase in the education budget was double that of the average increase of the budget and the implementation of the De Lange proposals will necessitate a much bigger percentage of the GNP being spent on education.

Over the long run this will inevitably have the effect of producing much better informed citizens on whom authoritarian rule sits ever more uneasily.

UN 'PERSECUTION' OF SOUTH AFRICA, ISRAEL HIT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Feb 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Anti-Israel"]

[Text]

**SOUTH AFRICA** looks like getting another drubbing at the United Nations. This time over the abortive coup to overthrow the Rene Government in the Seychelles.

Not that we think that the United Nations has any right or duty to probe this affair. Seven accused — six men and a women — are going on trial in the Seychelles on charges of treason, which could mean their death if they are found guilty.

Here in South Africa 45 mercenaries are going on trial for offences concerning the alleged hijacking or seizure of an Air India Boeing which enabled the mercenaries to escape back to South Africa.

The law is thus taking its course.

But Rene, who came to power by means of a coup, wants the United Nations Security Council to establish the circumstances — and especially to determine South Africa's involvement or otherwise in the affair.

So a commission, made up of representatives of Panama, Japan and Ireland, has been probing the matter by visiting the Seychelles, Swaziland and South Africa.

Our Government placed no obstacle in the way of their coming here. The commissioners have interviewed several of our Ministers. They were not able, however, to gain access to the mercenaries who allegedly took part in the attempted coup.

Our Department of Foreign Affairs and Information has explained that a local representative of the mercenaries has stated that, since "my clients are facing certain criminal charges in South Africa, we are not prepared to do anything that might possibly prejudice them in relation to these charges.

"Evidence given to the United Nations might be prejudicial and I cannot take the chance of advising clients to jeopardise their position in any way."

Nevertheless, the commissioners are angry, the Panamanian chairman of the commission saying: "The message from the South African Government is very clear — 'don't talk to the mercenaries.' "Anywhere else in the world we could have had access to these chaps. We wanted to talk to them about the coup and not about the hijacking."

The Panamanian also said he was convinced that Martin Dolincheck, the self-confessed South African spy who is among the accused facing trial in the Seychelles, was the key figure in the attempted coup.

He told the commissioners that 80 AK-47 Russian assault rifles used by the mercenaries were supplied from official South African sources.

Taking this, plus the commissioners' anger, into consideration, we will be lucky if they don't hold South Africa responsible for the attempted coup.

We hope that the UN probe will set a precedent.

After all, President Rene came to power in a coup — and it would be worth knowing who assisted him.

Then there are all sorts of coups and revolutions, many communist-inspired, in

other parts of the world that are worth probing.

Indeed, we wouldn't be surprised if a large part of the world isn't plotting against other parts.

If the UN could be kept busy inquiring into such intrigues, plots, coups and revolutions, it wouldn't have so much time in which to continue its bloody-minded persecution of a few selected nations like South Africa and Israel.

#### UN Probe

INTERESTING, isn't it? The United Nations General Assembly has called on its members to impose sanctions against Israel because of that country's annexation of the Golan Heights.

Not that sanctions against Israel are mandatory. Such a move has to be agreed to by the Security Council, and the United States will use its veto to prevent it.

Only US threats to cut off funds to the United Nations has saved Israel from being kicked out of the UN.

Isn't it terrible that nothing is ever done about countries that invade other countries (like Russia which invaded Afghanistan), or impose their will on other countries (like Russia does over Poland), or commit genocide and other forms of atrocity against their own or neighbouring people.

## VERWOERD'S CONCEPT OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 Jan 82 p 11

[Article by Patrick Laurence: "Homeland Independence: The Vision and the Reality"]

[Text] **RECENT** events in Venda have raised measures the reality of these ethnic questions about the quality of "free- states against the visions of their ideology" in South Africa's independent logical founding father, Dr Hendrik homelands. **PATRICK LAURENCE** Verwoerd...

**A**S South Africa's "independent black homelands" expose the uglier sides of their faces, one of the most cherished beliefs of apartheid ideologues becomes increasingly difficult to sustain.

In halcyon days when theory was as yet untested by reality, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the high priest of grand apartheid, used to assure his followers that separate development was designed to provide blacks in South Africa with "self determination" while guaranteeing that their minuscule ethnic states would be free from the worst excesses of Africa's newly independent states.

Dr Verwoerd and his lieutenants presented their policy of granting separate "freedoms to South Africa's "black nations" as a process of decolonisation. But, they insisted, where the over-hasty withdrawal of colonial powers in the rest of Africa left large, ethnically heterogeneous communities to survive as best they could, South Africa was preparing small homogenous black nations for the "responsible" exercise of self-determination.

Thus, in their view, the prognosis for South Africa's black peoples was independence without the conflict tyranny and corruption

which characterised life in some newly independent black states.

### Turmoil

In the years immediately after Dr Verwoerd piloted the legislative centrepiece of his policy through Parliament, the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959, the horrors of uhuru in Africa north of the Limpopo River were exemplified for white South Africans by the prolonged turmoil in the Congo, or Zaire, as it is known now.

But, while South Africa's independent homelands have remained free of conflict on the scale of the Congolese, Nigerian and Ugandan civil wars and of the rash of coups d'etat which have characterised post-colonial Africa, they cannot be said to be free of either tyranny, corruption or chicanery.

Venda, the tiny homeland on South Africa's border with Zimbabwe, has detained half

of the Lutheran Church's full-time ministers, as well as several of the church's prominent lay members. One of the detainees died within two days of his detention. Another, Dean T S Farisani, the head of the Lutheran Church, is reliably understood to have been treated in hospital for bleeding eardrums.

Before that, the Venda President, Chief Patrick Mphephu, used the emergency powers ceded to him by South Africa to ward off defeat in the 1979 election when he interned 11 successful opposition candidates.

But President Mphephu, whose formal education stopped at primary school, has denied that his is a minority government. It is, he and his aides proclaim, a model of "Venda democracy".

President Mphephu was the guest of Mr Jaap de Villiers, who runs Venda's only casino, on a trip to Mauritius last year, and, before that, a guest on Mr De Villiers' farm.

Venda's Casino Act was twice altered for the convenience of Mr De Villiers. The first change waived regulations controlling the granting of a casino licence and the



second repealed a clause requiring the casino licensee to run a hotel of stipulated size and standard.

Last December, in an outing reminiscent of Rome in decline, the Venda Cabinet watched hamstringed donkeys being fed to lions at Venda Nwanedi National Park.

Transkei, the first of South Africa's black homelands to opt for Pretoria-style independence, differed in one respect from Venda when it came to the use of arbitrary power against the opposition. Transkei's governors did not wait until the opposition candidates won seats: it detained them even before the 1976 election on independence took place.

Since then, detention without trial has been a salient feature of political life in Transkei.

## Detainees

Detainees have included a Cabinet Minister, Mr S K Ndzomo, who died in detention; the leader of the opposition, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who fled into exile after being found guilty of violating the dignity of the Transkei President; a former Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Elliot Cwele; a former Commander of the Transkei Army, Brigadier Roy Kevva, as well as several journalists.

Transkei's public finances have been in a state of disarray. There have been reports of widespread corruption. Auditor-General reports have highlighted unauthorised expenditure of public money running to millions of rands. For the financial year 1977-78, unauthorised expenditure ran to nearly R3-million. For 1978-79, the amount was nearly R3-million.

South Africa, which provides about 75 percent of Transkei's national income, now insists that its subsidies be linked to specific projects, which have to be assessed and approved by Pretoria.

Ciskei, the latest black homeland to receive independence, has already acquired a reputation for liberal use of its powers of detention without trial.

On one occasion, General Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service, ordered the detention of 205 trade unionists. Many black union leaders believe they have more freedom in "racist" South Africa than in "liberated" Ciskei.

Even before General Sebe rose to prominence as a tough-minded intelligence chief who proudly compared his intelligence service to the Soviet Union's KGB, Dr Robert Rotberg, a member of the Ciskei-appointed Quail Commission, wrote of the Ciskei's rulers and their exercise of power: "The Ciskei already behaves towards its opponents very much like the government of Transkei. The human rights of Ciskeians have been violated."

The Ciskei shares another trait with Transkei: government in both polities is very much a family affair.

Where Transkei is to a large extent the personal fief of the Brothers Matanzima, President Kaiser Matanzima and his younger brother, Prime Minister George Matanzima, Ciskei is dominated by the Brothers Sebe — General Charles and President Lennox Sebe.

President Sebe submitted to a referendum the question of whether to accept independence. The poll was taken against a backdrop of statements that independence would be secured on the basis of a "package deal" from Pretoria, which included additions of vast tracts of land to Ciskei and retention of South African nationality for Ciskeians within a confederation with South Africa.

## Too late

President Sebe obtained a decisive yes-vote, but the much-vaunted package deal fell through. The Quail Commission found that two-thirds of all Ciskeians opposed independence on the existing terms offered by Pretoria, but President Sebe still accepted independence on that basis because, he asserted, it was too late to turn back.

Bophuthatswana, the fourth of the independent homelands, has a markedly

better record than its sister states. Its constitution contains a legally enforceable bill of rights, which prescribes parameters to the exercise of arbitrary power and provides aggrieved persons or organisations with a means of redress.

Bophuthatswana's rulers did not use their powers of detention to intern opposition politicians. Nor, as far as is known, were they stampeded into panic detentions when the banned African National Congress (ANC) attacked a police station, killing two Bophuthatswana policemen.

But even Bophuthatswana's record was blemished when three men died of suffocation after they had been locked in a village strongroom without food and water for three days. They were alleged to have broken tribal laws. The victims died in a little village near the glittering holiday and gambling complex of Sun City.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, however, has condemned the incarceration of the men in the strongroom as a violation of the constitution. The village chief has since been charged with the murder of the dead men.

## Conflict

While the independent homelands have remained relatively free of large-scale conflict, that may change in the coming years. Their leaders are seen as "collaborators" by the ANC, which has identified homelands and homeland leaders as legitimate targets in its campaign of "armed struggle" against the existing order in South Africa.

As the campaign intensifies, and the homelands throw their ethnic armies and police forces into the war against the African National Congress, the future points to a bloody intra-black struggle reminiscent of the civil wars in African states to the north. Thus, in spite of Dr Verwoerd's assurances, the homelands may not escape even the worst of the ordeals of the less fortunate of the African states.



## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON RABIE COMMISSION'S SECURITY LEGISLATION

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Feb 82 pp 8, 9

[Selections from two-page report]

[Text]

**THE Rabie Commission, under Mr Justice P J Rabie, has proposed the repeal of a large section of South Africa's security legislation, and its consolidation in a new Internal Security law.**

The proposed Bill covers a wide field, providing for the safety of the State and the maintenance of law and order as well as the appointment of a Director of Internal Security falling under the control of a newly-created Ministry which would include the former Department of Police.

HERE are the Acts the commission proposes should be repealed and consolidated in the new legislation:

- The suppression of Communism Act of 1950.
- The Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1951.
- The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953.
- The Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1954.
- The Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956

- The Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960.
- The General Law Amendment Act of 1961-64.
- The Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1965/6.
- The General Law Amendment Act of 1966.
- The Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1967.
- The Terrorism Act of 1967.
- The General Law Amendment Act of 1967.

## Commission Considers Banned Body's Support

ONLY a very small minority of the black community was sympathetic to the banned African National Congress, the Rabie Commission has found.

But this minority was not so small that it could be ignored from a security point of view, the commission added.

"It was said in evidence before us that those people in the black community who had pro-ANC feelings, particularly those who supported the ANC's violence, constituted a very small minority of that community and that their influence should not be overestimated."

~~"The commission is prepared to accept the~~

evidence that those who harbour such feelings constituted a very small minority of the black community, but at the same time there was considerable evidence given which showed that they were not so small that they could be ignored, when the issue is examined from a security point of view.

"A disturbing aspect of this situation is the fact there are often reports in certain newspapers which could leave members of the public with a very different impression of sympathy with the ANC and its activities in the Republic," the commission said.

An example of this was the image of Solomon Mahlangu, who had been condemned to death for murder. He had been praised as a freedom fighter.

The impression had also been created that the ANC flag was the black flag.

It also had to be considered that those who sympathised with the ANC and its activities but were not necessarily involved in violent

actions would help ANC men to come into the country or protect them in one way or another.

"Such an attitude on the part of members of the public must necessarily complicate the task of the South African Police, who are trying to prevent sabotage and terrorism and to capture those involved," the commission said.

## 'ANC Campaign Will Intensify'

**THE campaign of violence by the banned African National Congress would increase and intensify in the future, the Rabie Commission has found.**

The ANC strategy was, according to evidence given to the commission by the South African Police, to institute acts of sabotage against strategic targets which would be of such an extent that it would create considerable reaction to impress people.

The commission, whose report was tabled in Parliament yesterday, said the ANC had a militarily trained force of about 1 600 people and that about 20 men were leaving South Africa every month to join them.

Although no member of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress had been arrested since 1978 and although the PAC was not a serious threat, there were signs of revival and these could not be ignored.

Police evidence was that the PAC had an operational force of about 300 and recently 41 young men had gone to Lesotho to join them.

"In our opinion it must be expected that the activities of the ANC will not only continue but they will also increase in extent and intensity.

"During the past year or two there have been indications of an intensification of ANC activities," the commission said.

This included the despatch of arms and ammunition over the borders, greater efforts to send propaganda literature to South Africa, attempts to infiltrate all sorts of organisations and attempts to obtain technological information about the Republic.

As with the South African Communist Party, there

could be no doubt that the ANC's aim was the violent overthrow of the Government.

The recent independence of Zimbabwe had added to the security problems facing South Africa, the commission said.

Although the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe had said the ANC would not be allowed bases in his country, this did not mean that ANC men would not slip into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

"It is a danger which the Republic must take note of and against which it, according to information before us, must already watch.

"Out of the nature of the matter, this means that a much longer border than before must be watched, and it increases the burden, which is already considerable and which rests on the South African Police and the security forces in general," the commission said.

The police said in evidence that between the 1978 disturbances and the end of 1979, 5 000 "or perhaps even 6 000" black people, mostly youths, had left South Africa and that

about 2 000 of these had joined the ANC.

Between 1976 and 1977, about 500 ANC members and supporters had undergone military training in Angola. At present the numbers at the camp ranged from about 30 to 100.

"Angola houses the most important camp where ANC men receive military training.

"In Maputo, a forward advance base, ANC men receive instructions over the sabotage of targets in South Africa.

"In Zambia there were — until very recently, in any event — two camps to which ANC recruits were sent from time to time in small groups to train together with Joshua Nkomo's Zipra forces."

ANC men were also trained in Moscow as officers and there were specialist camps on the Crimean Peninsula. There was also a camp in East Germany where ANC men received training as specialist saboteurs.

People who were trained in Angola usually went to Botswana first before entering the Republic or they went to Mozambique and infiltrated South Africa from there, often through Swaziland.

The commission said the ANC had representatives in 32 countries and it received help from the Soviet Union and other communist countries.

It also found that there were close links between the ANC and the SACP.

The police told the commission that although the PAC had not been very active for some time, it could carry out a spectacular deed of sabotage to try to make up for lost ground.

## Black Consciousness Comes Under Attack

**THE** excessive and militant language of 'the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) was creating a spirit of dissatisfaction and even rebelliousness which could lead to unrest.

The Rabie Commission said in its report that it was clear that Azapo was trying to obtain political leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement and was campaigning for "a radical transformation of the South African situation".

Azapo was "apparently prepared to use all possible means to put pressure on the authorities, even if it meant that the country was weakened by this and placed in danger".

The organisation's appeal to the US Government not to use its veto right to prevent economic sanctions being imposed on South Africa could not be seen in any other light.

\* "As far as the activities of the Black Consciousness Movement, and by name Azapo, are concerned, the evidence shows that its supporters are trying to develop a

spirit of militancy and opposition, and even rebelliousness, against the authorities, a standpoint that there is little, even no, point of consultation or negotiation with the authorities as a means of getting rid of grievances and that confrontation is the encouraged way to follow.

"Azapo and the members of the Black Consciousness group who work at newspapers continually let the light fall on situations which are regarded as conflict points in the black community.

"There is nothing illicit in emphasising grievances but in most cases it is done in such drastic, excessive and militant language that there can be little doubt about an intention to promote a spirit of dissatisfaction and resistance, even rebelliousness.

"Where such a spirit is developed among members of the public, the possibility that it will lead to unrest and a disruption of law and order cannot be ruled out," the commission said.

It said Azapo was not in favour merely of a racially integrated society but for "a radical transformation of the South African society".

Integration would merely create a black middle class which its supporters believed

would protect Capitalist society.

The use of violence was not named by Azapo as a method to achieve its aims but there could be little doubt that Azapo would use all means available to it to eventually achieve its aims and force interim changes.

During 1980 Azapo had been involved in the organisation and encouragement of the school boycotts.

Together with Cosas it had made calls on pupils to support the boycotts.

"The view that black people in Soweto and elsewhere — particularly the youth — have become more black conscious where the Black Conscious Movement has been active, is consistent with the evidence the commission heard on the matter.

"At the same time, the evidence showed that particularly among the black youth there had been an increase in anti-white feelings during this period," the commission said.

It also said that in newspapers where Black Consciousness journalists worked there could be little doubt that articles written about grievances were written in such emotional language that they encourage a spirit of resistance among the people.

## No Regular Reviews

THE Rabie Commission has rejected representations by the Side Bar Council that security legislation should be valid for only one year and that there should be a permanent body to review its continued relevance.

It says that laws combating such crimes as treason, communism, terrorism and sabotage will continue to be needed and that there would be little point in making them valid for a year simply to have them revalidated at the end of every period.

However, it concedes that there are a multitude of security laws and that there is a need for consolidation.

It says that when considering the period over which the law should apply, attention would have to be paid to the current circumstances or the threat the law is aimed at curbing.

The commission said it was difficult to see

what merit the one-year system would have over one in which, depending on circumstances, the law could be adapted, amended or even repealed.

The commission recommends the extension of the Riotous Assemblies Act which at present prohibits fostering bad relations between whites and other races.

It says this should apply to creating bad relations between all races.

Similar reasoning is applied by the commission to anti-communist and terrorist laws and to detention laws.

The commission said that the security laws were often criticised as being "apartheid laws" which were introduced simply to maintain an unjust system.

It expected that its proposed legislation would be criticised in the same way

## Call For Official Secrets Act to be Changed

A COMPLETE overhaul of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act, and its replacement by a more carefully worded measure, are recommended by the Rabie Commission.

The commission's report notes numerous complaints about the vagueness, wideness and "scarecrow nature" of many of the Act's provisions.

These included complaints that they gagged newspapers unnecessarily and hindered academic researchers.

It recommended the Act be replaced by a new measure called "The Protection of Certain Information Act".

The term "Official Secrets" is dropped because, the commission says, South African law contains no comprehensive definition of an official secret and it would be impossible to do so satisfactorily.

Proposed changes include:

- Replacement of "an enemy" to whom information may be useful to "a foreign state". It also recommends prohibiting the passing of information to illegal organisations such as the ANC and the PAC.

- Specifying it is to be an offence if information is gathered with the intention of passing it on to a foreign power. This meets criticism of present widespread provisions prohibiting disclosure of information which could directly or indirectly be useful to an enemy.

- A distinction between information prejudicial to the interests of the State and information whose disclosure would have little or no such effect.

- Extension of the ability to hold a trial in camera where the security of the State is affected to include cases which could prejudice State interests, such as international relations.

The commission recommends that any banned organisation be regarded as "a hostile organisation" for the purposes of the Act.

Its proposed legislation also empowers the State President to declare any organisation abroad a hostile organisation.

The commission proposes a maximum penalty of 20 years' imprisonment for contravention of the new measure.

CSO: 4700/696

## PROFESSOR DEGENAAR ON NATURE OF REFORMS NEEDED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 28

[Article by Johan Degenaar, Head of the Department of Political Philosophy, University of Stellenbosch]

[Text]

**THE** nature of the reform we need is structural change which brings about the democratisation of society. This means bringing about non-discriminatory sets of relationships between individuals and groups.

There are limited forms of reform taking place in the areas of labour, education, constitutional politics and social facilities.

One can only hope that these processes of democratisation will be continued in all four spheres.

Let us look at one of these areas to see what the gap is between the reform actually taking place and the reform needed.

In the labour sphere Wiehahn and Riekert have introduced some reforms. Wiehahn legalised black trade unions. In fact, this led to better Government control, which manifests itself in the banning and imprisonment of successful representatives of trade unionism.

Riekert came out in favour of mobility of labour subject to the availability of employment and accommodation. In fact, this brought about apartheid between insiders and outsiders.

### Realistic

Insiders are those blacks who are given special treatment by being drawn into the orbit of white prosperity.

Outsiders are restricted to the homeland states.

Simon Jenkins comments: "The proposed changes were never intended to free the market in black labour or end deportation to homelands and group areas. Their aim was to establish a more realistic set of controls — in the argot of neo-apartheid, to contain excessive urbanisation."

The process of reform has stopped short of democratisation. Wiehahn and Riekert have opened the way for the acceptance of the principle of economic citizenships for blacks. Unfortunately the principle of political citizenship has been denied them.

For various reasons this reform should not stop here. First, it is immoral, because it denies blacks political rights in the economic system in which they are indispensable.

Related to this is the fact that although the Government has rightly rejected a racial legitimisation of its power it unfortunately chose the technocratic legitimisation instead of the legitimisation of democracy.

It legitimises its power on the basis of the material welfare of all in the country — a welfare produced by the technocratic skills and abilities of the white rulers.

This technocratic legitimisation entails a refusal to accept the important black economic units as important political factors. Efficiency becomes the basis of techno-

cratic legitimisation and the political dimension to this is reflected in the statement of Tom Mboya: "Efficiency is the last refuge of the imperialist."

A second reason why reform should not stop here is that the Government has through its reforms conceded power to the blacks to organise, albeit on an economic level.

The political reality is that they are in a good position to experience the discrepancy between economic and political rights.

The situation can be described as: the political power of the whites is not grounded in economic realities and this is a sure basis of labour unrest. Organised black labour will give rise to intense pressures which will have to be accommodated. Industry will have to bear the brunt of these pressures in the 1980s.

On the basis of political pluralism, blacks will make full use of the potential power of trade unions to bring pressure to bear on the white rulers.

In terms of the ideal of stabilisation of the situation we can ask: How is it possible to stabilise an economic situation inductive to economic growth if we allow economic citizenship to blacks while withholding political citizenship from them?

A third reason why reform should not stop short of democratisation is because the Wiehahn and Riekert proposals introduce apartheid be-



tween urban blacks and homeland blacks. And this kind of apartheid is fraught with its own kind of dangers.

The extent to which deteriorating economic conditions in the homelands may produce the preconditions for unrest must not be underestimated.

The forced apartheid between insiders and outsiders may eventually turn out to be very dangerous.

Gillmore has pointed to the situation in the then Rhodesia where the educated blacks politicised and radicalised their kinsmen in the tribal areas over weekends and succeeded in defeating the ruling class in this manner.

But not only the urban insiders can export their discontent to the rural outsiders, the outsiders themselves can mobilise the insiders on behalf of their interests. For example, the insiders can be persuaded to strike on their behalf.

Add to this possibility the following points:

- The fact that the percentage of urban blacks expressing their alienation and anger rose from 57 to 81 percent in 1978.

- The fact that there was a "dramatic upsurge of support for the ANC in the past five years".

- The occurrence of terrorist activities in South

Africa.

- The fact that black leadership loses credibility, especially with the youth.

## Urgency

If one combines this knowledge with demographic and economic realities one can see the importance and urgency to reform.

It would be a great pity if the nature of reform contemplated and the rate of change introduced are not sufficient to stem the all too visible tide of discontent.

And if the traditional leaders have lost their legitimacy and forces of resistance have been suppressed it may well lead to a situation similar to that in Algeria. In that situation the Governor-General in Algeria admitted the mistake of destroying opposition leaders.

He said: "We did not realise that in suppressing the forces of resistance in this fashion, we were also suppressing our means of action. The result is that we are today confronted by a sort of human dust in which we have no influence and in which movements take place which are unknown to us."

This can be our future, but it need not be so.

Our future depends on the quality of the reforms introduced.



SUDDEN TRANSFER OF SEBE'S RIGHT-HAND MAN REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 2

[Text] Public servant Graham Maytham's sudden departure has set tongues wagging in Ciskei.

Mr Maytham has been right-hand man to President Lennox Sebe since 1976 and has been repeatedly praised by the President and Ministers for his skill, dedication and loyalty.

As director-general in the office of the presidency, he did invaluable work in guiding Ciskei to independence.

Then came the surprise news that he was to be transferred to a legal post in Johannesburg.

As a public servant seconded to Ciskei, he is liable to transfer, but the suddenness of the move surprised most people.

These include Mr Maytham himself, who had to consider the transfer of schoolgoing daughters only a week after the reopening of the schools.

Mr Maytham has denied that he was dismissed, but the calling of a Press conference by the Ciskei authorities on Friday, during which a King William's Town newspaper was attacked for its leader on the matter, did nothing to ease the controversy.

Indeed, Mr Maytham himself was criticised for talking to the Press, though his statements had been discreet.

Mr Maytham's departure was the latest in a flurry of changes since independence on December 4.

Transport Minister Chief Z H Njokweni was sacked after being accused of neglecting his duties.

Chief Lent Maqoma was transferred from the Foreign Affairs Ministry to Manpower Utilization after public criticism of him by the President.

The Education Minister, Chief D M Jongiland, was transferred to Public Works.

## EXPERT EXAMINES LEGALITY OF BANNINGS, DETENTION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 23

[Article by Kevin Davie: "A Top Law Professor Argues Detention It Could Be Illegal"]

[Text]

**MOST bannings and detentions are possibly illegal, says a top legal expert.**

Professor J D van der Vyver, professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, says the authorities — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, included — seem to be unaware of the legal criteria for banning or detaining a person without recourse to the courts.

He says there are "strong indications that detentions and bannings are in many instances not warranted by the criteria laid down in the law.

"Statements by the responsible Minister seem to indicate he is unaware of the criteria laid down in security legislation for detentions."

An instance of this is the detention last year of Mr Andrew Boraine, Nussas leader and son of PFP Member of Parliament, Dr Alex Boraine.

"The Minister of Justice said in Parliament Mr Boraine had been detained to cool off."

As far as detentions are concerned, the consistent pattern has been for people to be detained under Section 23 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1966, and then to continue their detention under the Internal Security Act or the Terrorism Act.

But, says Prof van der Vyver, the criteria for detention differ: from one Act to another.

## Suspect

Therefore to detain people under the provisions of one Act, and then to re-detain them under the provisions of

another Act, "is indicative of arbitrary decision not founded upon the criteria laid down in these various acts for the detention of a particular person".

He says if this happened in odd cases, the authorities would have grounds for arguing that while the person was detained they established the detainee could qualify to be re-detained under the provisions of another Act, but since it happens in nearly every case, this suggests the security police are applying these laws in an arbitrary manner.

"I find this procedure very suspect," he says.

There is a further reason detentions in many cases may be illegal, says Prof van der Vyver.

"Section 23 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 authorises the continued detention of any particular person for a period longer than 14 days only upon the instructions of a judge.

"In my opinion this provi-

sion relates to further detention under the same or any other legal provision."

Yet, he says, the pattern has been for the Security Branch to simply re-detain detainees held under Section 22 under the provisions of another Act, without obtaining the necessary order issued by a judge.

"In my opinion this clearly renders further detention illegal.

"I have no reason to think that even a substantial number of those banned or detained really constitute a threat to the State."

Prof van der Vyver says the recent spate of detentions and bannings has to be understood against the background of the losses the National Party suffered to the HNP in the last general election.

"The HNP gave the Government the fright of its life. To combat the right wing dissident movement the Government has embarked on a strategy of power politics to appease the right wing."

## Vigour

He says this includes the renewed vigour in Group Areas Act prosecutions, and the increase in bannings and detentions.

Commenting on pre-election reform promises made by the Government, Prof van der Vyver says:

"There would have been more reform had it not been

for the successes of the HNP at the polls, but those successes checked all instances of further reform."

There are many instances of this, he says, including the Government's rejection of the President's Council recommendations on Pageview, the De Lange Commission on Education which was "for all practical purposes rejected", the shelving of the Grosskopf Commission report, and the failure to implement the recommendations relating to Group Areas.

These commissions were set up during the pre-election "mood for reform", which are now out of pace with the Government's go-slow on reform.

"It is quite clear that the Government is more concerned with re-uniting the Afrikaner electorate than honouring its pre-election reform promises," says Prof van der Vyver.

But he adds that the Prime Minister has lost more by his inconsistent strategy than he would have if he continued on his reform programme.

"The normal right wing reaction to this inconsistency is that the Prime Minister cannot be trusted."

## THE FIGURES:

THE number of people banned by the Government has declined over the years ... but detentions — a harsher and more severe method of dealing with oppo-

sition — has escalated dramatically.

There were 59 people banned during 1978. Last year only nine were served with banning orders, but 630 were held in detention as opposed to 334 two years previously.

At present, according to data supplied by the Institute for Race Relations, 112 people are banned.

## Weapon

Professor John Dugard, professor of law at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, says the Government is using ( ) "more serious detention weapon" because it is now less sensitive on the subject of security legislation.

He says that under the Reagan administration the South African Government is free from the pressure mounted by former President Carter and his human rights campaign.

"During the Carter administration there was a lot of criticism, particularly after the death of Steve Biko."

Prof Dugard says it is hard to understand the Government crackdown.

"During 1976 and 1977 there was massive unrest and upheaval and so one could understand when people were detained, but why now?"

## LAWYERS URGED TO DEBATE LAWS RESTRICTING LIBERTY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 82 p 15

[Article by Bob Davis]

[Text]

When the report of the Commission of Inquiry on security becomes a matter for public debate in the near future, it should be seen against a background of "ferment about measures and practices employed by the State."

Speaking to the Lawyers for Human Rights Organisation in Johannesburg, at the weekend, former judge Mr Jan Steyn — now Director at the Urban Foundation — said there was valid opinion in South Africa (his among them) which was concerned seriously about the cumulative effect of abnormalities in the country.

"We feel strongly about the need for curbing unacceptable tendencies, and about introducing checks and balances," said Mr Steyn.

Among the "unacceptable tendencies," he named:

- The length of time over which "temporary" abnormalities have to be endured

- The tendency for abnormal measures to become institutionalised, acquire momentum, and grow.

- The secrecy involved in the investigation of individual cases, and decisions about them.

- The subsequent treatment of such persons.

- The absence of effective judicial review.

- The inhibitions and limitations imposed on the Press in fulfilling its watchdog function concerning the executive and the judiciary.

- The dangers of abuse which arise in abnormal circumstances, and ultimately the divisive effects among the diverse population of the country, which in these times is in greater need than ever of being drawn together.

Mr Steyn said he was aware that there were other bodies of opinion about the abnormalities in the country.

"There are those who think the Government must simply be trusted to do what it thinks necessary, in the way it thinks necessary.

"On the other hand, there are those who use every incident as a weapon for attack.

"Then there are those, among whom I count myself, who with due recognition of the aggression to be combated, are seriously concerned about the cumulative effects of the abnormalities which are being introduced."

Mr Steyn said that in terms of the Rule of Law, and in view of legislative history, the system in South Africa could be seriously questioned.

Echoing Mr Dawid de Villiers, he said: "If the State does not itself take the initiative of a return to the ideals of justice, I call on the legal profession to close ranks and to insist that it be done."

He said the question lawyers should debate was the extent to which internal and external dangers justified the extraordinary measures and arbitrary power intruding on the liberty of individuals.

"And to what extent are these dangers the product of our own socio-political system, and to what extent can abuses of power and justice be obviated by checks and controls."

Mr Steyn questioned whether society could accept measures normally regarded as expedient in a time of crisis, as a permanent feature of its pattern of life, and whether it was not true that "much of our thinking tends to identify the interests of South Africa with the interests of white people."

He said: "It is against this background that we must look at the issues directly related to security legislation, which will become a matter of public debate in the weeks following publication of the Rabie Commission report, and at legislation affecting the Press after the publication of the Steyn Commission report."

He said there should be "an action directed thrust" from the legal profession, because the contents of the reports and the resulting Government response were matters falling within the legitimate interest of lawyers.

"I am not concerned with the nature of your response, but with the fact that lawyers should respond, and be seen to respond."

Mr Steyn said the reports should be analysed meticulously and reasonable reaction

should be co-ordinated through institutional groups and congenitally presented to the authorities.

"I can testify that the Government is not the intractable, monolithic monster it is sometimes thought, and occasionally appears, to be."

He said since the start of the "Botha rule" he had found access to the Government "a great deal easier than in March 1977 when we (the Urban Foundation) first started."

However, it was important that there be public debate and courageous persistence in order to achieve "a modicum of success."

He said: "As privileged lawyers, we cannot fail to participate in the process," and added that failure to act responsibly could have serious consequences.



## WESTERN TRANSVAAL FARMERS ASK FOR SECURITY FENCES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 22

[Article by Norman Chandler: "Fence Us In Beg the Border Farmers"]

[Text]

**FARMERS** in the remote Western Transvaal bordering on Botswana want security fences to be erected around isolated schools and post offices — but the police say farmers should do this themselves.

"We want sandbagging and barbed wire fencing on our farms as we cannot pay the price being asked," Mr Dries Swart, a farmer in the Nietverdiend district northwest of Zeerust, said this week.

He added that "Rhodesia-style" fortified farmhouses had not "become the vogue" out here.

"We are particularly asking for fencing around our schools, especially at the Nietverdiend school hostel."

About 100 children attend that school, and there have been fears that if fencing is not erected they could be a target.

"We take comfort from the fact that few children have left school.

"They could have been sent to Zeerust or other Western Transvaal towns for their education.

"Farming people are hardy folk and we don't intend to get off our lands.

"The post office also needs to be protected in case of trouble.

"We are not asking for trouble but one has to be realistic and I know I have the support of other farmers."

Some of Mr Swart's neigh-

bours, who did not want to be identified, said that fortifications and radio communication had been brought in a few years ago "but most of the radio sets are now broken and we just haven't got the money to repair them".

It is understood that about six sets are still in working order.

One farmer, who is about 40km "as the crow flies" from the Botswana-South Africa border, said that tenders had been called for "Rhodesia-style" fencing, "but it proved to be too expensive at a time when we were panicking about our safety".

### Determined

Most of the farms in this arid area — 300km west of Johannesburg — are managed by black employees but the hard-core of white farmers still tilling their lands are determined to stay, a farmer said.

"The way I look at it, if something should happen in the area, then we will obviously be looking for a lot of help from the Government.

"But if you must die, then you die," he said.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations directorate in Pretoria said: "It is the prerogative of individual farmers to fortify or not.

"Seeing that fortification, which is mostly done by the erection of security fences, serves as a deterrent for any criminal, the police will

come any move to safeguard people and property against lawbreakers.

"Likewise, the police would welcome such moves by other property owners, for instance, educational institutions.

"Some police stations in this area, as in other areas, have been fortified but this was done as a result of attacks on police stations which started some two years ago."

The SAP maintains regular patrols along the 110km tared road linking Zeerust to Nietverdiend and the Kopfontein border post, the main land entry point in to Botswana.

### Road checks

Stringent vehicle checks are also carried out at the border post, which is manned by the SAP.

Botswana is also aware of fears of terrorist attacks being mounted from its country against South African targets and the Botswana Police carry out regular checkpoints on roads on their side of the border.

The President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, has made it clear on several occasions that his country will not be used as a launching pad for guerrilla attacks on South Africa.

"The Government could not adopt a different policy without inviting dire consequences for itself," he said.

COLLAPSE OF DETAINEE DR LIZ FLOYD INVESTIGATED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Cas St Leger]

[Text]

SECURITY Police chief Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee personally conducted an investigation in Johannesburg yesterday into the collapse of detainee Dr Liz Floyd who lived with Dr Neil Aggett, the trade union leader who police claim hanged himself from the bars of his cell in John Vorster Square on Friday.

The Citizen learned this last night from the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys.

Permission was granted at the weekend for Dr Floyd to undergo psychiatric treatment in the Johannesburg Hospital while under guard. It is understood that the permission was only granted for the weekend.

A source close to Dr Aggett told The Citizen Dr Floyd had been told of his death by Security Police last Friday and she collapsed. Her parents had been notified and arrived from Cape Town the same day. They were staying with friends in Johannesburg and avoiding publicity.

Silence surrounds the fate of the 26-year-old Dr Floyd as Gen Coetzee, the only person able to disclose any details, was not at home last night.

Johannesburg Sunday newspapers yesterday reported Dr Floyd's collapse but neither the Security Police nor the hospital authorities would confirm or deny she was in hospital undergoing treatment.

The official Security Police comment, according to Major Heyns of the police Directorate of Public Relations, was that Dr Floyd was "still in detention".

The deputy hospital superintendent, Dr L Kalmyn, was also unable to confirm that Dr Floyd was a patient and referred all inquiries to the police.

It was reported that she had been admitted to a psychiatric ward at the hospital but due to the shortage of nurses these wards had been closed and patients were cared for in the eye ward.

A Johannesburg attorney who asked not to be named alleged that in the past detainees requiring hospital treatment were booked in under false names. It was common practice, he claimed,

that information on ill detainees was not divulged.

"I hope it is nothing more sinister," he said.

## Police Cell Deaths 'Inevitable'

**POLICE** cell deaths were inevitable when people were detained under a system where they simply disappeared and were held in solitary confinement for long periods, Mr Douglas Gibson, MPC and chairman of the PFP in the Southern Transvaal, said yesterday.

He was commenting in a statement in Johannesburg on the "tragic" death of trade unionist Dr Neil Aggett, who died on Friday while in detention in a police cell at John Vorster Square.

Referring to the treatment of detainees, Mr Gibson said even criminals convicted of the worst offences "are not committed by law to be treated this way".

"Despite the attempts by the Rabie Commission to make the system more efficient, abuses and tragic consequences will continue while the Government and its agents have the power to act in secret and beyond any democratic control," Mr Gibson said.

He said it appeared

that Ministerial assurances about so-called safeguards to the system were worthless.

"We believe that the Rabie Commission proposed safeguards will be equally worthless," he said.

Mr Gibson demanded in a statement to know:

- When last Dr Aggett had been visited by a magistrate?

- When he was last visited by the "so-called watchdogs" (inspectors of detainees)?

- What sort of report they had submitted to the Minister of Police and had he taken the time to read it?

- Why was the "post-mortem" done before the family had been informed?"

Mr Gibson also announced yesterday that a meeting would be held in the Johannesburg City Hall as soon as possible to protest against "the entire system of detention without trial". The date still had to be finalised.

Mrs Helen Suzman and other PFP members of Parliament would address the meeting.

## IMPROVED TRUCK UTILIZATION PROPOSED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Kerry Clarke]

[Text]

**MORE** than R1 000-million could be saved annually by South Africa's commercial fleet operators if they could implement a 10 percent improvement in truck utilisation.

This is the finding of the Materials Handling Research Group (MHRG) at the University of the Witwatersrand, which has also found that such an improvement would not be so difficult to attain.

The group uncovered, during its study of truck movement and utilisation, the fact that hauliers have an average utilisation of 43 percent, while general commercial vehicles notch up an average utilisation of 33 percent.

This low utilisation rate can be attributed to several factors:

- Legal restrictions — the SA Railways prohibits the transport of goods 80km outside the so called "free zones" (eg the PWV) without permits, and such permits are often difficult to obtain and are restricted to carriers of goods which the railways do not, or cannot handle.

- Empty leg transport — the permit system prevents fleet operators from getting return permits which would enable them to carry loads on return trips. This results in 50 percent under-utilisation

- Poor loading and off-loading facilities at supermarkets and hypermarkets.

Summing up the SAR point of view on load control, MHRG deputy director Martin Bailey notes: "As a group providing a service to the country as a whole, the railways claims it needs some protection against hauliers removing only the cream of the business."

This protection is needed to protect its interests and allow the railways to raise the massive capital to develop for the whole of South Africa's interests. Furthermore, railways needs to subsidise its passenger transport — again for the good of the country as a whole."

## Protection

Mr Bailey concludes: "The railways needs protection on the transport of many commodities due to the nature of the service it provides to the whole country, and its role in conserving strategic fuel."

"It does concede that often some goods are better handled by road, but over any large distance, say

over 100 or 200km), road cannot compete with rail haulage."

"Trucks should be left to handle urban deliveries (where there is no alternative transport), and rail left for long distance haulage."

From the hauliers side however, Mr Bailey points out that hauliers have helped the whole economy grow by providing transport anywhere and everywhere speedily and efficiently for almost every industry — factors essential for a growing country.

"The rapid growth of the hauling industry in South Africa has followed similar trends to those in other Western countries and emerging nations, where railways are fast moving away from internal goods handling towards passenger transport, while the movement of goods is being handled more and more by road transport," says Mr Bailey.

"For example, in the US, rail transport has been reduced from carrying 66 percent of ton mile transport (inter-city) in 1948, to 35,8 percent in 1979."

"Rail now accounts for 20,6 percent of inter-city transport revenue compared to 70,8 percent accounted for by truck."

Hauliers therefore believe that they should be able to operate freely within the economy.

On the subject of "empty leg travel", Mr Bailey notes

that hauliers often blame the permit system for their empty trucks on return trips, the amount of effort and co-ordination put into rectifying this situation by the hauliers has been minimal.

"Proper centralised facilities which could inform hauliers where and what loads are available for return journeys still do not exist, and this is an area which should receive urgent attention.

"For the railways' part, the granting of permits to reduce empty leg travel should be made more flexible, although it is very seldom that a well justified permit application is refused."

## Argument

Mr Bailey notes that the argument between railways and hauliers is one that is likely to continue for some time. As the railways become more efficient, he believes it is likely to begin to take back some of the business the hauliers have gained over the past few years.

"Each fuel crisis will be to the advantage of the SAR, and is likely to be coupled to a tightening of the permit system.

"In the meantime, it is necessary to implement the permit system on an intelligent basis, allowing for a great deal of flexibility."

He advises hauliers to try to get as many permanent permits as possible, rather than relying on temporary permits--not base business on items that can easily be transported by rail--and look to short distance (urban type) transportation as part of business.

The bad productivity figures for hauliers cannot be blamed entirely on the railways however, as even general commercial vehicles have a low utilisation percentage.

In urban distribution, a major problem is being experienced in the loading and off-loading of goods at stores, supermarkets and hypermarkets.

"Facilities at hypermarkets for loading and off-loading are disgusting -- they are antiquated and this has resulted in long queuing times which in turn lead to higher prices for the consumer.

"Queuing times in supermarket loading areas can range from two to eight hours, and in some cases trucks move backwards in the queue as the store's own trucks, frozen goods and railway trucks are given priority.

"Tens of millions of rands are being lost in this manner," says Mr Bailey.

## Answers

The answers he offers to this problem include negotiation between retailers and truck owners and more consideration to the design of supermarket loading areas.

"Another major problem in South Africa is the lack of education and training for truck owners and operators.

"If, as we have estimated, there are an average five trucks per operator, there are 200 000 operators or owners of vehicles in South Africa. Probably only 500 of these have any kind of education or training or belong to any formal organisation."

Speaking from an industry point of view, Cargo Carriers general manager, Mr Theo Vermaak, agreed that about 45 percent of his company's trucks were running empty on account of the "empty leg problem", but he discounts the view that hauliers have not put enough time and effort into rectifying it.

"The Public Carriers' Association (which has a membership quota of 600), has discussed the possibility of establishing a computer bureau which would house information about goods quantities and types and would, by means of distributing such information

to hauliers, combat this empty leg situation."

Practically, this bureau would enable operators to find out when a truck was making an empty return trip and they would then be able to use the space available instead of sending their own truck which would also return empty.

"The setting up of such a service won't be easy -- the hauliers are in competition with each other, but they would have to co-operate with each other to make the bureau system work.

"Costs would also have to be standardised to enable the implementation of the system and the permit sys-



tem would have to be modified," comments Mr Vermaak.

"I would like to see the cost of transport being reduced in this manner, and if we could improve utilisation by 10 percent to 35 percent, we would be able to cut costs and provide savings to customers and increase profits for ourselves," he said.

He does not criticise the railways for its permit system, saying that they are merely trying to protect themselves.

## Cream

"To a large extent it is true that hauliers take the cream of the goods available for cartage. Often the SAR ends up with goods that go to a non-profitable area eg: a small town in the Orange Free State where there is unlikely to be a return load," he notes).

"This situation is one of the main reasons why they have restrictions. The SAR would like to have profitable as well as non-profitable journeys and I don't think they are unreasonable in this.

"With South Africa's wide geographical area, there are problems with trying to move goods throughout the country. In this regard I think the SAR

performs a vital function.

"However, I would like to see greater co-ordination between the railways and hauliers to save time and increase productivity," says Mr Vermaak.

"The railways could even approach the private sector for help with problems."

He believes the marketplace would appreciate an improvement in the method whereby permits are being obtained.

"Present applications are somewhat time consuming and labour intensive, and can add to the cost of deliveries.

"I feel it should be more of a direct process — maybe by means of a telex instead of having to make an appearance in front of a Board to state your case."

On the problem of loading, Mr Vermaak believes the ball is in the retailers court.

"Inadequate loading and off-loading facilities at retail outlets cannot be blamed on the transport industry, as they are clearly the responsibility of the retailer.

"The transport industry as a whole is doing much to improve the standard of transport managers by the promotion of various educational programmes similar to the one being operated by RAU.

ARMY RELIEVES RAND COLORED SCHOOLS TEACHER SHORTAGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jan 82 p 7

[Article by Tyrone August]

[Text]

The serious shortage of teachers at coloured schools on the Rand is receiving the urgent attention of the Department of Internal Affairs (Coloured Affairs).

"The shortage of teachers is critical especially at high schools," said the acting chief inspector of the Transvaal, Mr J S Feldman, yesterday.

"We are busy trying to recruit white teachers at the moment. They have helped us out a lot in the past."

Mr Feldman said the department was also making use of army recruits as a short-term measure. "So far we have obtained the services of 14 recruits," he said. "They have been placed mostly in schools on the Rand,

particularly at the Eden Park High School in Alberton."

Eden Park, a new school with 27 classrooms and accommodation for 1000 pupils, opened last week without a single teacher. Five army recruits are now teaching at the school.

He said the shortage of teachers was most acute in mathematics and science subjects.

Mr Feldman said there were no real problems of overcrowding in schools this year. "Our building programme is making excellent progress," he commented.

## MANUFACTURING PROFITS OUTLOOK DARKENING

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

**MANUFACTURING profit gains — one of the mainstays of the South African economy — will not beat inflation this year.**

**They have already gone into a real inflation-adjusted decline, which is expected to continue throughout 1982 and which may even be extended into 1983.**

**A dramatic increase in output per worker was a major factor in South Africa's recent boom conditions.**

**But output per worker is beginning to show signs of falling, suggesting that 1982 will be a disappointing year for the country's manufacturing sector.**

**When this prospect is superimposed on a struggling mining sector, then the outlook for the economy as a whole is far from encouraging.**

**A study of manufacturing profits by Econostat, the applied economics research unit, reveals that output per worker grew steadily from early 1977 to late 1980 (see graph).**

**Over the same period, average real earnings (that is, earnings adjusted for inflation) in the manufacturing sector, while rising, increased at a slower rate than output per worker.**

**As a result, manufacturing profits rose strongly — es-**

**pecially towards the end of the period (early 1979).**

**The Econostat graph projects a decline in output per worker during the next 12 months — a decline which is accompanied by an expected improvement in real earnings.**

**This suggests that profits in manufacturing are likely to decline over the next 12 months.**

**Econostat distils the relationship between output per worker and real earnings into a "profitability indicator". This is represented graphically, together with real manufacturing profits.**

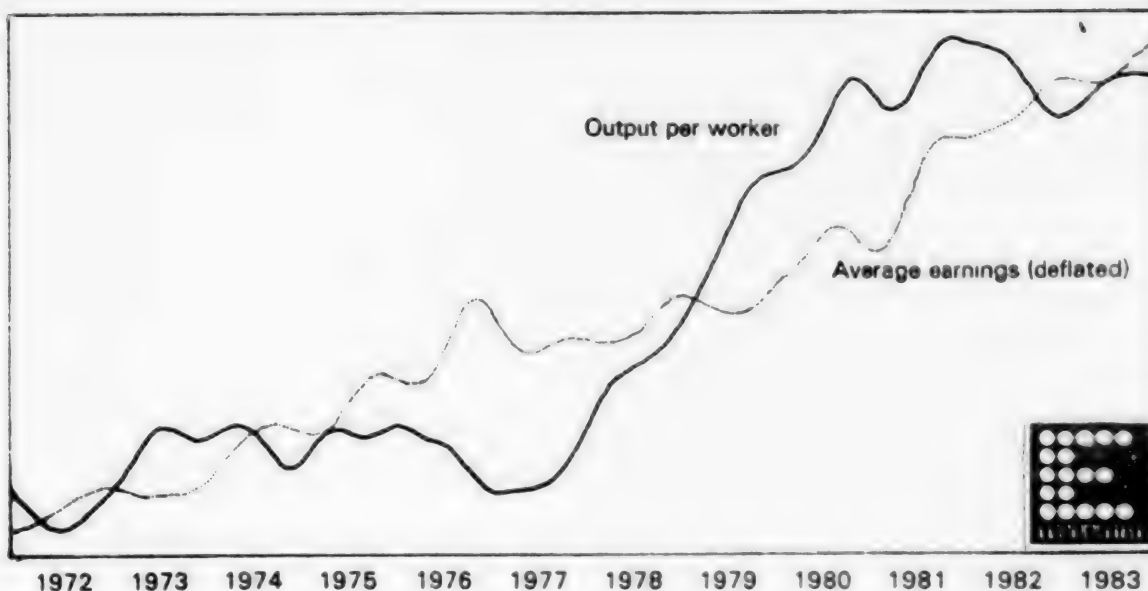
**According to Econostat: "Comparison of the derived profitability indicator with real manufacturing profits shows a similar pattern until 1976. Thereafter, the Econostat derived indicator leads on the upturn in 1977.**

**"The profitability indicator suggests a decline throughout 1981, which becomes especially pronounced during 1982."**

**The graph shows that the profitability indicator tends to lead real manufacturing profits by about 13 months.**

**Accordingly, the downturn evidenced by the indicator since the end of 1980 bodes ill for manufacturing profits in the months ahead.**

**Econostat concludes: "Manufacturing profits, adjusted**



for inflation, have already levelled out and begun to decline. The pattern is projected to continue throughout 1982.

"On the basis of the Econostat profitability indicator, manufacturing profits (deflated) may continue to decline still further during 1983."

## CRUDE STEEL OUTPUT FALLS OFF

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 82 p 7

[Text]

South African crude steel output registered one of the steepest declines among Western and Third World countries in December last year, pushing down its overall rate last year by 2.5 percent.

Crude steel production showed a world-wide decline last year, reaching a 16-month low in December, according to the International Iron and Steel Institute.

Representing 29 countries, which account for more than 63 percent of world production, the institute reported an overall 1.15 percent drop in output last year.

South Africa recorded a higher than average fall of 2.5 percent but the US increased output by 7.3 percent.

The European Economic Community showed a 2.2 percent drop in output, Japan

8.7 percent and the remaining Western and Third World countries 0.1 percent.

The total production for 1981 was 448 084 tons compared with 1980's 453 236 tons.

However, December production was down by 3.7 percent from December 1980, a 16-month low which was largely the result of strikes in the US and Canada.

Despite the overall rise of 7.3 percent in US production, output was down by 24.8 percent in December. Canada's output dropped by 17.8 percent in December.

South Africa showed a 24.6 percent decline in December, registering the third sharpest drop in production among the institute's member countries.

Chile had the worst record with output down by about 46 percent in December.



## POSSIBILITY OF SWAPO VICTORY IN NAMIBIA EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 82 p 14

[Article by Paul Moorcraft]

[Text] Swapo will soon win in Namibia, or the SADF is condemned to wage an endless, unwinnable war there. Is the same true of the Republic? Is the alternative to an ANC flag fluttering over the Union Building (renamed "Mandela Building") a perpetual Armageddon?

Is there a middle way between the fluffy hypocrisy of the liberals and the lemmings on the right?

Raymond Aron, the French philosopher, remarked: "When a party gives itself the right to use force against its enemies in a country in which to start with it is in a minority, it condemns itself to perpetual violence." So the logical alternative to perpetual violence is to remove the whites from their minority status. But how?

Genocide of the blacks, sometimes mooted by white reactionaries, is unspeakable. But partition, a more equitable distribution of land, is not. As long as 80 percent of the population own less than 20 percent of the land, revolution is inevitable.

The idea of a white homeland has a vener-

able liberal heritage; it is not the prerogative of the lunatic right. A reverse trek would be an historic irony: whites would return to territory they held at the end of the eighteenth century, before the long, bloody saga of the frontier wars with the blacks. And, in size, it would be a far better dispensation than the patchwork quilts doled out to the black homelands.

But what about the golden triangle on the Rand? How could the whites give up their control of the mineral wealth? A guerilla military victory would mean that anyway. To forestall this, the whites might consider looking again at the old concept of "multistan," a multiracial confederation.

Isn't this all rather drastic: must we forswear the vision of a unified, integrated, multiracial South Africa? When Swapo despoils the Namibian economy, or the imprisonment of Ian Smith sends the remaining whites scurrying from Zimbabwe, or an embittered Transkei welcomes Cuban troops—all deadly possible—

what hopes then for the ideal — but unlikely — peaceful integration?

If we are honest, we may admit that the vast majority of whites cannot, and will not, live under black rule. They will fight.

But, as Paul Kruger said, "If you have to fight, choose your own time and ground." The Israelis did this in 1967. When they did not in 1973, they came close to destruction.

South Africa is always comparing itself to Israel. Perhaps, under extreme duress, a version of the PLO-Palestine, an Afrikaner Zion, might emerge. Today, most whites emigrating from the realities of history; a reverse migration to the white homeland might ensure white salvation.

The "whitestan" could be an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging-style dictatorship, or it could develop along the lines of Israel's garrison democracy. The Afrikaner Sparta might seem an underdog state in Western opinion, especially if Russian-backed armies forced the entrenchment. The pilloried herrenvolk would be transformed into gallant de-

fenders of their rights, even if the whitestan were nuclear-armed.

Moreover, this small white state would no longer contain such a vast majority of potential opponents; and whites, not blacks, would have become refugees. Perhaps 4.5-million whites and Indians would have to shift. Thus a more sympathetic West, and non-black majority rule, could secure for the whitestan the same kind of reluctant support that Israel gets from the West.

Meanwhile, the whitestan could trade with the successor black states in a loose economic confederation. Having lost the natural wealth of the Transvaal, whites would have to practise *selfwerkzaamheid*, labour self-reliance. Thus, with the novelty of a hardworking white proletariat, black labour would be eschewed: just as the early Labour Zionists refused to employ and, by their definition, exploit Arab labour.

This scenario may seem bizarre, but a just garrison state does offer a rational alternative to racial holocaust.

## POSSIBLE MERGER OF FERTILIZER FIRMS REPORTED

## SASOL Diversification

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 31 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Andrew McNulty: "Gathering Storm in Chemical Industry"]

[Text]

**THE** petrochemical giant Sasol has confirmed its intention of diversifying on purely commercial grounds in the chemical industry to compete with other private-sector companies in any suitable area.

Ferocious competition is looming in the industry, which has for decades been dominated by two private-sector giants, AECL and Sentrachem, with Sasol serving mainly as a benign supplier of feedstocks.

There is a risk of creation of over-capacity during the battle — though Sasol believes that this will be avoided (as shown by the Coalplex plant) because it would be in none of the parties' interests.

As a result — and for other reasons — the industry in future could have difficulty in maintaining its customary return on investments.

This raises question marks over the capital-intensive chemical industry's growth plans and whether the ultimate benefits to South Africa of import replacement and self-sufficiency will be achieved to the fullest extent.

The industry — which employs 81 000 people — currently has plans for new capital projects and expansions costing R5 800-million.

"Chemical companies could well become more selective in their investment decisions," says Janse Uys, a general manager of Sasol.

Further evidence that all is

not rosy in this apparently booming sector is provided by this week's announcement that Sentrachem has ditched plans to erect a R430-million ammonia plant (R750-million including downstream units), thereby exacerbating an existing shortage of certain ammonia-derived products such as nitrogen.

The reason given for the cancellation of Sentrachem's ammonia plans was the grossly inadequate 10% increase in the price of fertiliser granted by the Government — after Sentrachem had asked for 18% and the Price Controller recommended 15%.

Other hurdles facing the chemical industry include

- Fast-escalating costs of new chemical production plants

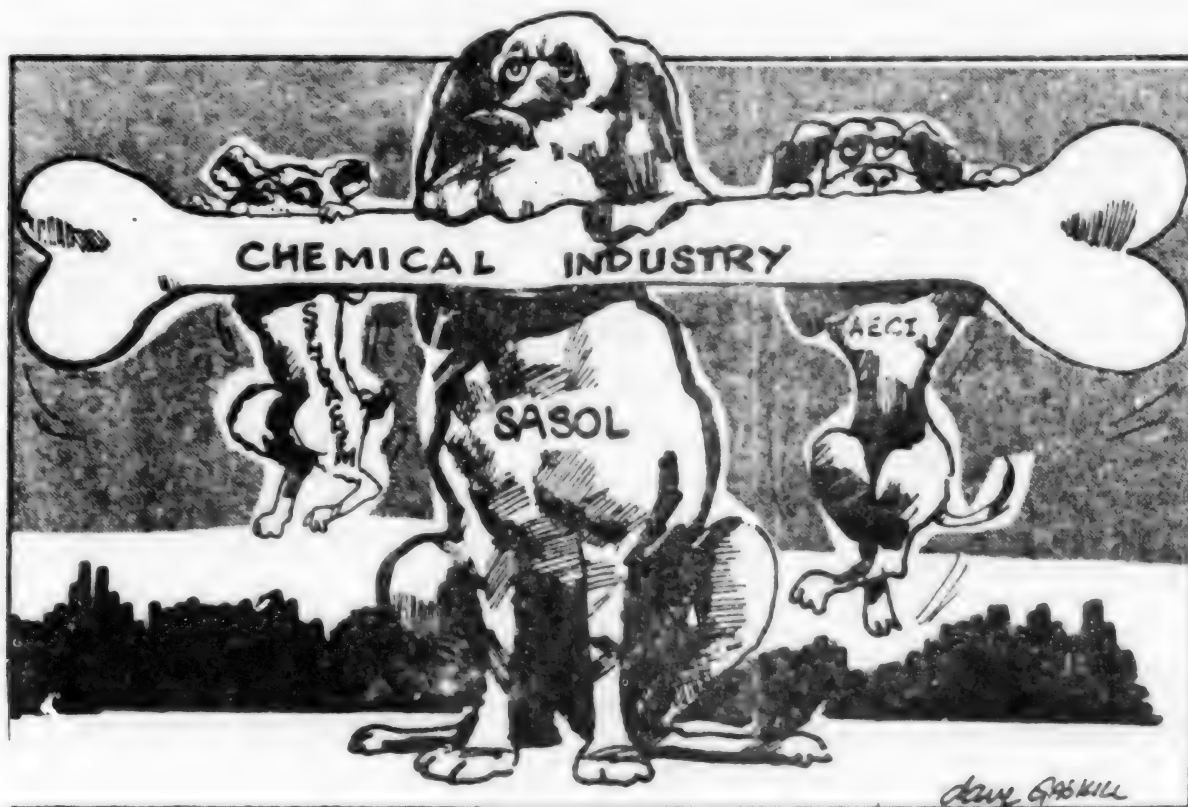
This is dramatically illustrated by Sentrachem's Afprene (synthetic rubber)

plant at Newcastle — originally expected to cost R123-million, but the final price was R350-million.

● The influence of overseas chemical producers, many of which are in dire straits, squeezed by economic recession, over-capacities and soaring costs.

Local producers fear growing competition from imports.

● Sasol's conversion to a private-sector enterprise in 1979 and the enormous growth of its chemical-manufacturing operations have helped change the entire structure of the industry



Traditionally "downstream" producers, AECI and Sentrachem have for some time been attempting to move their operations further upstream, developing projects such as ammonia plants (AECI) and Coalplex (a joint AECI-Sentrachem project).

"With Sasol's diversification plans, it would be foolish for any company such as Sentrachem or AECI not to be looking at other options for raw materials supply," says Dave Marlow, Sentrachem's managing director.

Although Sasol has for years had certain downstream operations, the synfuel giant is now making an effort to diversify downstream and expand its chemical activities.

Mr Uys says that these fundamental changes in the industry are "new but to be expected as the local chemical industry matures".

Annual chemical sales by Sasol now account for R330-million, or about 20% of turnover.

Andre Bedeker, executive director of Sasol Marketing, says that turnover on chemicals is projected to rise to about R600-million (in today's money) in five years.

Sasol's first big new downstream project was announced last June, when the company said it was to produce and market a full range of fertiliser products.

The chairman, David de Villiers, said in his 1981 statement:

"This new fertiliser project demonstrates our determination in the interests of our shareholders to take timely action to ensure a better balance between our upstream and downstream activities in petrochemicals."

Mr Bedeker told Business Times that Sasol's objective is "to integrate to where the product is saleable to a diversified market".

Commenting on Sasol's future role in the SA chemical industry, Mr De Villiers has said: "Sasol will act responsibly so as not to upset unduly the operation of local markets or to duplicate production and other facilities unnecessarily."

However, in view of the fact that Sasol has in the past been a major supplier of certain chemical raw materials, the potential for this diversification and expansion is large.

Mr Uys adds that the sole criterion in developing new projects or expanding into new markets would be "the interests of Sasol's shareholders".

Investment or marketing decisions would be made according to economic viability and their strategic value to the company.

Sasol is already involved in joint ventures with companies such as Atar, Tosas, Fedgas and Natref, and more could follow.

Mr Uys says of Sasol's view on joint ventures: "We are prepared to go into joint ventures with any reputable party if it is in the interests of the parties, commercially viable and if each can contribute to the joint venture by way of process technology, production or marketing expertise."

Triomf Market Tie-up?

MARKET speculation that Triomf could soon emerge as Sasol's direct marketing arm for fertiliser has been given added credence by Sasol's confirmation to Business Times that it intends to contest fiercely the chemical industry.

Spokesmen for both companies declined to comment on the speculation but refused to deny that talks between the two groups had

taken place.

Sasol has already committed itself to an entry into the fertiliser market and has revealed its desire to tie up in one way or another with an existing fertiliser company via its recent abortive negotiations with Oumia.

A Sasol-Triomf deal would make a good deal of sense for both groups.

If a marketing arrangement materialises, Sasol

would benefit from Triomf's dominant position in the local fertiliser industry and from its prominence in the international phosphoric acid market.

From the Triomf viewpoint, a Sasol deal would assist in securing supplies of ammonia and in raising finance eventually to expand the Richards Bay phosphoric acid plant.

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Daan de Kock]

[Text]

**FERTILISER** giants Fedmis and Triomf may merge giving Triomf's Louis Luyt a virtual monopoly in the industry until the new Sasol plant comes into operation.

A brief statement issued by the two parties says: "Negotiations are presently taking place between Sentrachem and Triomf with a view to the merging of their fertiliser businesses, comprising the Fedmis division of Sentrachem and Triomf".

It goes on to say: "As soon as it has been decided whether or not such a merger will take place, a further announcement will be made, but in the meantime shareholders of both companies are advised to exercise caution in their dealings in the shares of the companies."

According to informed sources it is very likely that the merger will go through, unless

the Government intervenes to prevent Triomf/Fedmis establishing a monopoly.

Informed sources yesterday said negotiations had already reached an advanced stage and details of the merger could be announced this week.

When Sentrachem took over Fedmis at the end of 1979 at an estimated cost of approximately R150-million the deal attracted wide interest. General Mining acquired a stake of 10

percent in Sentrachem. There were speculation that Sentrachem and Genmin would establish a private "Sasol".

It should be interesting to see on what terms the fertiliser interest of the two companies are going to "merge". If the Government allows Mr Luyt to take over the fertiliser interest of Fedmis, Triomf will have virtually a monopoly in the fertiliser market.

Some analysts are of the opinion that Sentrachem was not very

happy with the way the Government handled the price increases for the inland market. They say the fertiliser companies were asking for a price increase of 18 percent for this year, but the Government only allowed them between 14 percent and 15 percent. This also led to the decision by Sentrachem to abandon the huge R630-million ammonia factory it was going to build.

The managing director of Sentrachem, Dave Marlow, told The Citizen at that time that the reason why the project was shelved was lack of assurance from the Government regarding future profitability of the project.

The new factory was planned to produce approximately 1 500 tons of ammonia a day.

Ammonia is an essential raw material in the manufacture of fertiliser.

Mr Matlon said the decision not to go ahead with the plant could result in South Africa importing between 100 000 and 150 000 of ammonia a year costing the country about R23-million in foreign exchange.

This shortage will, however, be wiped out when the new Sasol III project comes on stream. It is estimated that Sasol III could produce 260 000 tons of ammonia a year. Until such time Mr Luyt will have virtual monopoly in the fertiliser market.



## CAPE SQUATTER PROBLEM CONSIDERED EXPLOSIVE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jan 82 p 26

[Editorial: "Anatomy of a Riot"]

[Text]

**T**HE Cape's squatter problem is no nearer a solution now than it was last year. And that is bad enough. But what is worrying is that the police, whose job nobody envies, continue to go in as if prepared for set piece battles. Our report yesterday described them as being armed with "rifles, pistols, clubs and batons." Inevitably shots had been fired and people hit. The police claim they were attacked first (with sticks) and the squatters claim the police provoked the flare-up by "smacking" them. It is easy enough to see both sides: the frustrations of the police sent in to move out people who simply drift back again, and the bitterness and despair of the squatters whose only quest is work and the chance to live somewhere where they can feel secure.

Haunted by Sharpeville, we have since then had enough lessons in this country of how situations can become super-heated and of how the presence of armed police, who are usually just pawns in situations created by insensitive policies, provides an explosive catalyst. Soweto '76 should have taught us something. It certainly cost us dearly, and not just in lives. In the Cape all the ingredients are there for another bloody riot and that would be politically and economically disastrous to this country, internally and externally.

As long as the police have to enforce the questionable laws, they should at least refine their methods and be more protectively, but less provocatively, equipped. Their numbers, too, should be as great as possible to ensure peaceful control.

CSO: 4700/696

GROUP AREAS ACT BLAMED FOR BLACK HOUSING SHORTAGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Yussuf Nazeer: "500,000 TVL Blacks Need Homes"]

[Text] Half a million black, Asian and coloured people--more than 100 000 families --in the Pretoria, Witwatersrand and the Vaal complex are in need of proper housing.

And the waiting list for houses is growing all the time, according to black spokesmen.

These figures, collated by The Star, are significant in the light of huge cutbacks in State spending on housing and the Government's admission that urban black housing could slide into total chaos unless drastic steps are taken soon.

Projects worth R500 million for black and white housing are being delayed or shelved, according to recent admissions by the Government.

The Minister of Co-Operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, last night unveiled a plan to combat the increasing black housing crisis.

His announcement came after the release yesterday of the Viljoen Commission's report on black housing.

The report calls for urgent and immediate changes to the Government's approach to black housing.

The Chief Opposition spokesman on housing, Mr Colin Eglin, has said that unless a solution was found to the growing housing crisis, far-reaching consequences--including an increase in social and racial tensions--could result.

According to civic spokesmen, hundreds of people have been on the waiting list for 15 years or more.

The situation was worst among blacks, they said.

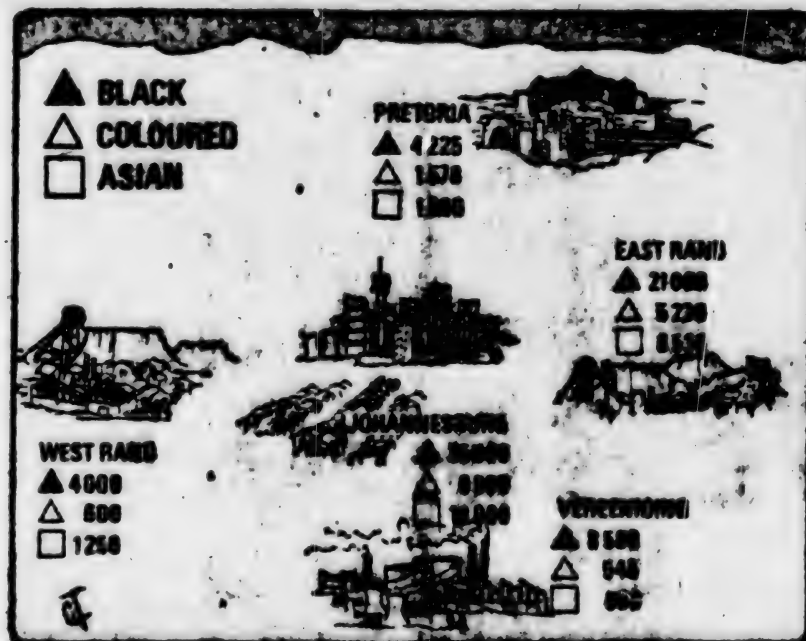
Thousands were living in shacks and other crude makeshift homes.

The situation was particularly bad, they said, in the East Rand's townships.

In Katlehong, 21 000 black families were living in shacks. In Daveyton 2 500 were living in shacks.

The coloured and Indian situation was just as bad.

In Wynburg, Sandton, spokesmen claimed about 2000 Indians had no space to expand.



This illustration shows the number of black, coloured and Asian families on the waiting list for houses in the 1960s.

The State's R500 million cutback on housing projects will now further delay Marlboro's development, a Department of Community Development spokesman admitted.

In Lenasia about 6 000 families were living in backyards, garages, Wendy houses and single, rented rooms with other families in seriously over-crowded conditions. The same applied to Fordsburg.

In Soweto a West Rand Administration Board official said the waiting list was about 22 000.

But he agreed with black civic leaders that it was more likely to be 35 000 families.

The 6 500 official waiting list for the Johannesburg coloured areas was also much higher, according to civic spokesmen.

CSO: 4700/696

## ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE BLACK UNIVERSITIES OPPOSED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 82 p 14

[Article by John Allen: "Universities 'May Not Be Utilised Properly'"]

[Text]

The row over the Government's establishment of a segregated university for urban blacks highlights two issues which have been the subject of long-standing controversy in South African university circles.

The first is the bar on the free entry of black students to open universities.

The second is the proliferation of university facilities which has accompanied the Government's implementation of its separate development masterplan.

University apartheid legislation in 1959 prevented "non-white" people from registering at existing white universities unless they had ministerial permission.

Black universities were also prohibited from freely admitting white students. Although numbers of black students entering white universities have increased in recent years, this still occurs by permit and only if the courses they want to study are not available at black institutions.

The 1959 law also provided for separate universities for blacks.

Since it was passed,

the University of Fort Hare has been transferred to the control of the country's black education department and the University of the North (Turfloop), the University of Zululand and the medical university, Medunsa, have been established.

In addition, universities have been set up in Transkei and Bophuthatswana. More universities are being set up, initially as branches of Turfloop, in QwaQwa and Venda.

Zululand and Fort Hare have started branches in Umlazi, near Durban, and Zwelitsha respectively.

The Minister of Education and Training told Parliament last year the Government aimed at one university for every black "homeland".

It is against this background the controversial Vista University for urban blacks has been planned. It has followed the drawing up of a report by a Government-appointed committee of black and white educationists (the Retief committee). The report has never been published, although brief extracts were quoted in Parliament.

Debate on the Retief report in Parliament and a survey of a widely-representative range of Soweto leaders makes it clear that most educationists from Afrikaaner academics to black teachers, as well as black community leaders, believe universities should be free to admit all races if they chose.

The De Lange education report did not deal with university apartheid by name but found an example of "strikingly unequal" treatment of races to be where "admission to educational institutions is regulated mainly on a racial basis . . ."

This wide-ranging agreement on the need for open universities has resulted in the row over Vista being centred on its segregated nature: 22 years after the initial apartheid legislation, the principles underlying it still govern new laws.

There is less agreement, however, on the issue of proliferation of university facilities.

Some opposition to Vista has concerned the duplication of facilities.

The University of the Witwatersrand council, for instance, declared

"It is short-sighted to provide for additional university accommodation before being fully using the potentially available facilities."

It was pointed out in Parliament that white universities had faculties which could take many more students and that already there was a shortage of qualified staff. Wits academic Mark Orkin has found in a snap survey that most black pupils in urban areas are opposed to a new university.

But the Wits administration has found in a survey of black community leaders a division of opinion on whether facilities should be provided near Soweto.

While some leaders

wanted blacks to attend classes at the current Wits campus, others wanted an institution near Soweto which was open but would be predominantly black and would reflect black social and cultural needs and aspirations.

Extracts from the Relief report, quoted in Parliament recommended a new, central training institution in the PWV area with linked, decentralised facilities.

The committee said: "There is a strong feeling in the black community in favour of universities for blacks, with a black character, which can function as a cultural-academic centre for a majority black community."

CSO: 4700/696



## BRIEFS

GUN CONTROL LAW--Cape Town--The amended Arms and Ammunition Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday provides that no person shall carry a pistol or revolver in a public place other than in a holster or similar holder designed, manufactured or adapted for such purposes, or in a handbag or attache case, or rucksack or similar holder. Any person contravening this will be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a maximum fine of R500 or to maximum imprisonment of six months. The same amendments also scrap all reference to Whites, with the result that the police now have the statutory right to issue firearm permits to any person. Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Police, told The Citizen the Bill was not aimed at throwing the sales of firearms open but rather to establish stricter control on the issuing of firearm licences to "responsible people". [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Feb 82 p 1]

INKATHA TO CONTEST SOWETO POLL--Inkatha is to take part in the Soweto Community Council elections in September, Mr Ambition Brown, general secretary of the Orlando branch, said yesterday. In the last elections in 1977, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, national president of Inkatha, called a boycott because most of the Committee of Ten were in detention. The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, last year asked the community councils throughout the country (excluding Germiston) to postpone until September. The elections were supposed to be held last month. All 30 Inkatha branches in the West Rand will take part, said Mr Brown. Inkatha had collected about 1 200 signatures in a petition opposing Putco bus increases. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Feb 82 p 3]

CSO: 4700/696

## BRIEFS

GERMAN ENERGY AID--The West German government has provided the Swaziland government with an R8,5-million loan towards the construction of a hydro-electric power station near Mbabane. The loan agreement was signed on Wednesday by the West German ambassador to Swaziland, Mr Elmar Weinder, and Swaziland's Minister of Finance, Mr James Simelane. The new loan brings the total capital aid by the West German government to Swaziland to R30-million since independence. At the signing ceremony the West German ambassador said the loan was an expression of his government's appreciation of Swaziland's efforts towards economic independence. He pointed out that the close co-operation between the two countries reflected friendly political relations and both countries shared a number of human and social convictions. He said that beside the grant, his government had offered 35 scholarships to Swazi students last year to study in West Germany and other countries. The hydro-electric project, which will cost about R60-million is also financed by the Commonwealth Development Corporation, European Investment Bank, African Development Bank, the World Bank and the Swaziland government. It is expected to be completed within three years. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 8]

CSO: 4700/715

## PARTY CONGRESS SCHEDULED TO FOLLOW OVERHAUL

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 5 Feb 82 pp 1, 9

[Article by Tim Chigodo]

[Text]

**THE** long-awaited ZANU (PF) congress will be held after the restructuring exercise of the party has been completed, the party's acting publicity secretary, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, has said.

The decision would be taken by the central committee and a date would be announced by the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, in his capacity as president. "This will take hard work to be fully ready."

In an interview, yesterday, Dr Zvobgo, who is also the Minister of Local Government and Housing, said the process of re-organisation and streamlining of the party at cell, village, branch, district and provincial levels would have to be completed before the congress.

"In many provinces the process is near completion," he said.

**HIGHLIGHTS**

The party was working flat-out to reconstitute all party structures and establish a central membership registry. Logistics of organising the party would take months, followed by the preparation of the congress.

The highlights of the congress would be the tabling of a "comprehensive and factual" report on the 17-year war and the election of the new central committee by the congress.

"The president of the party will deliver a historic report on behalf of the central committee on its stewardship since the first congress on May 4, 1964," Dr Zvobgo said.

The congress would thoroughly examine all aspects of party policies and new directives adopted by a series of resolutions which would bind the party leadership for the next several years.

"A much more complete and permanent constitution will be adopted."

The chairman of the commissariat committee responsible for the party reorganisation exercise, Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, said on Tuesday that the process would be completed by August or

September. The restructuring programme had already covered five provinces.

Dr Zvobgo said there were about eight vacant posts on the central committee and these would not be filled until after the congress. The Prime Minister decided it was not in the interests of the party to co-opt some people on to the central committee before the congress.

"We have felt the need to have more people on the central committee, but we do not believe it is the right thing to do before the congress," the minister said.

Meanwhile, the functions of the central committee members whose posts were vacant had been divided among the present members. The Prime Minister and his deputy, Mr Simon Muzenda, had assumed the responsibilities of the secretary-general; the Minister of Youth, Sport and Recreation, Mr Ernest Kadungure, had taken over the functions of youth secretary, while Dr Zvobgo was acting secretary for information and publicity.

● Full list of central committee members — Page 9.

## ZANU (PF) Central Committee Members

THE names of the members of the ZANU (PF) central committee are:

President: Mr Robert Mugabe; deputy president and secretary for foreign affairs Mr Simon Muzenda; secretary-general (vacant); deputy secretary-general Mr Don Muvhuti; national chairman (vacant); secretary for defence (vacant); deputy secretary for defence Lieut-General Rex Nhongo.

Deputy secretary for foreign affairs Mr Richard Hove; national political commissar Mr Mayor Urimbo; national organising secretary Mr Maurice Nyagumbo; deputy national political commissar (army commissar) Major-General Josiah Tungamirai.

Secretary for finance Mr Ernest Kadungure; deputy secretary for finance Mr Didymus Mutasa; treasurer-general Senator Esau Nkala;

secretary for publicity and information (vacant); deputy secretary for publicity and information Dr Eddison Zvobgo.

Secretary for education Dr Dzinga Mutumbuka; deputy secretary for education Miss Sheba Tavarwisa; secretary for women Mrs Teurai Ropa Nhongo; deputy secretary for women Mrs Sally Mugabe.

Secretary for construction, production and development (vacant); deputy secretary for construction, production and development Mr William Ndongana; special assistant in the office of the president Mr Emmerson Munangagwa.

Secretary for social welfare Mr Kumbirai Kangai; deputy secretary for social welfare Mr Robson Manyika.

Other members: Mr Dauramanzi; Mr Chauke and Mr Chinamaropa.

'HERALD' EDITOR: SA SPIES HAVE INFILTRATED OUR FORCES

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 6 Feb 82 p 1

[Text] Elements loyal to South Africa in Zimbabwean security forces are responsible for mistrust now existing between races, the Editor of the Herald, Mr Farayi Munyuki, said yesterday.

Addressing the National Affairs Association on the role of the Press, he said the enemy in Zimbabwe exploited vices and short-comings of elements in the army and police.

Elements of the Republican Front and those who refused to accept reconciliation had been helping the enemy enter the country to carry out subversive activities.

"They are the eyes of Pretoria. Why does the RF continue to be quiet about what South Africa is doing to this country?

"Three weeks ago I took a group of visitors to one of our hotels. They were jeered at and made to feel unwanted. They were wearing T-shirts bearing the picture of our Prime Minister."

Hotel authorities looked on helplessly. "You need to read some of the letters my paper receives to know the kind of whites we have in the country."

Newspaper offices had heard that certain RF members were drinking champagne when the ZANU(PF) headquarters were destroyed. There were also reports that there was a general feeling of happiness among members of the RF when the Inkomo Barracks ammunition dump went up in flames.

Mr Munyuki said in the one year he had run the Herald he had never heard the RF advocate rural development, or good race relations or heard its views on reconciliation.

"How come they remain silent in the face of the enemy's aggression against us? Does it not surprise you that after two years of independence the majority of whites are even scared to be identified with Zimbabwe?"

The Government had been too kind to such people. He could not understand why they had been allowed to remain in the country. It was time they were flushed out before they destroyed the country.



Mr Munyuki said recent incidents of armed robberies in Bulawayo and elsewhere were a threat to peace in the country. The Press would be failing in its duty if it failed to condemn people responsible for this.

Mr Munyuki believed that if all minority political parties went all-out to help the security forces the robbers would find no place to hide.

He called on the Government to nationalise land owned by absentee landlords as a priority in solving land shortage. The Government should also control the size of land owned by individuals to ensure that there was enough to go round.

Mr Munyuki said in the last year while he was editor of the Herald the paper had made striking advances. The Herald was a very different paper to what it was a year ago.

It was now a reflection of the masses, their leaders, their hopes and successes. The paper saw itself as a vehicle through which the people could reach their Government.

It would continue to condemn acts of sabotage, misuse of Government property and inefficiency and would continue to help bridge the gap in understanding between the people in forging national unity.

CSO: 4700/721

## MUGABE TELLS OF THREE-YEAR MOVE TO SOCIALISM

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 8 Feb 82 p 5

[Text]

**THE three-year transitional national development plan now being finalised by Government will lay a sound basis for the momentum of socialism in future years, the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, said on Saturday.**

But it would not be possible to change the inherited socio-economic system in that time because of shortage of funds, skilled manpower and the need for a political and educational campaign to prepare people for the new set-up, he said.

Mr Mugabe was addressing the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Gwelo.

Defining his own and ZANU (PF)'s approach towards the attainment of a socialist society in Zimbabwe, Mr Mugabe said the country's resources and means of production must move out of the grip of the "capitalist bourgeoisie" into the hands of the peasantry, the proletariat and the State.

He said about 5 000 landowners possessed most of the country's fertile land while a handful of companies, mostly multinational, owned the mineral resources.

In future the socialist thrust would express itself through collective co-operatives in the agricultural sector and in commerce through State enterprises and action.

"The ownership and control of the enterprises, depending on their nature, will vest, in some cases, in the workers or peasants," he said.

He added: "The three-year transitional national development plan now being finalised by Government will — as it takes into account the socialist direction of ZANU and the Government — adopt a socialist strategy aimed at achieving defined objectives within a three-year time-scale.

"It is hoped that the plan will lay a sound basis for the policy of socialism to gain in momentum in future years."

The Prime Minister said it would not be feasible to socialise the whole socio-economic system in three years because of a lack of funds, managerial and technical skills and the need for a political and educational campaign based on the envisaged socialist programme.

The campaign would transform the working class, peasants, students, professionals and intellectuals. It would include the formation of cadres who, already fully ideologised themselves, would constitute the organisational vanguard or the co-operative system.

"The people, the sacred people, always come first in our political considerations," Mr Mugabe said.

## MUTASA PLANS 'REVOLUTION' IN RESETTLEMENT

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 9 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Rob Linden]

[Text]

A NEW plan to assist and accelerate the national resettlement programme and overcome many of its problems has been outlined by Mr Didymus Mutasa, Speaker of the House of Assembly.

Mr Mutasa believes that implementation of the scheme could "transform the face of Zimbabwe" within a few years.

The proposals would make use of the hard-won skills and experience of the country's three leading co-operative societies — Cold Comfort Farm, Mukute and Nyafaru.

It is Mr Mutasa's conviction that many of the difficulties at present bedevilling resettlement — especially peasant resistance to co-operative organisation, vital conservation measures and progressive farming methods — can be overcome.

### SCHEME

The scheme, which is being considered by the Government, includes:

- Setting up a national umbrella organisation uniting all co-operatives;
- Expanding existing communes for use as training centres;
- Establishing two big co-operative resettlement schemes in each province to lead by example;
- Attaching an Agri-tex official full-time to

each settlement project, to live there and act as manager; and

- Halting the sub-division of commercial farms bought by the Government, instead of resettling them as a unit.

"I always go back to the example of what we did at St Faith's Mission near Rusape in the 1950s," Mr Mutasa said in an interview.

"We had 300 families working 6 000 acres of land in a planned and organised way, a community centre and a trading store which paid out dividends to shoppers every year.

"The place really boomed — it was very profitable."

Mr Mutasa believes that it is wrong to break up commercial farms acquired for resettlement.

"If you look at a good commercial farm, well-planned, producing its magnificent crops and healthy profits, you must realise that you are, in fact, looking at a co-operative enterprise.

### TOGETHER

"You have a group of people working together in an organised way — admittedly mainly for the benefit of one person, the

farmer.

"With the transformation to a co-operative system, the farm should be kept as a unit, with the settlers moving into a well-designed, properly laid out village built to replace the present farm compound.

"The farmhouse could become the community centre."

Then the settlers would work the farm together under expert advice, with the resulting profit being shared equally. This, Mr Mutasa believes, would both make for a truly revolutionary improvement in the peasant standard of living and remove the element of exploitation in commercial farming.

"A village working together would find it much easier to raise loans, and Government assistance — roads, electricity, water, schools, clinics, could be provided more cheaply and conveniently to a single unit than to a scattering of individual holdings," Mr Mutasa said.

"It is also far more efficient, quicker and more cost-effective to plough, say, 80 acres at once than to prepare dozens of widely separated plots. This is a waste of resources.

"Commercial farms work because use of a large area of land is properly planned and carried out. There is no reason why a united village should not do the same — matching, or even exceeding, the profit made by the commercial farmer."

Another way forward suggested in the proposals is to ensure that each resettlement scheme has an extension officer as full-time manager — at least until the project becomes self-sufficient.

"Our agricultural experts must not be office-bound — they must lead the people by living and working with them," says Mr Mutasa, himself a former Conservation and Extension Services (Conex) official.

Central to the scheme is to make use of the matchless experience, determination and dedication of those who in the past kept the co-operative idea alive — despite all attempts to crush it — in educating and inspiring those chosen for resettlement.

#### EXPERTISE

"Operating on a national basis, we could take on trainees who want to gain agricultural expertise and practice the co-operative way of life," Mr Mutasa said.

Commitment, not academic qualification, would be the main criterion, and Mr Mutasa hopes this will enable good use to be made of the political dedication of ex-combatants. "Many of whom are really being wasted now".

It is suggested that such trainees would first spend three months at Kushinga-Phikelela Agricultural Institute learning basic farming.

Then they would go on to Cold Comfort, Mukute and Nyafaru, spending three months at each improving their skills and coming to grips with the co-operative life, before moving to a resettlement project run under the aegis of the national movement.

"We would ask the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development to give us two former commercial farms, adjoining resettlement schemes, in each province," said Mr Mutasa.

The farms would be well-equipped, and the initial aim would be at worst, to maintain that capital investment and at best, to add to the capital value.

"This way, making a co-operative success of each farm, we could teach by example — and, I believe, transform the face of Zimbabwe in three or four years."

Peasant resistance to

new ideas would be overcome. "It has been demonstrated at St Faith's and elsewhere, that once people see that a thing works, they are eager to adopt it.

"Leading by example is the answer."

Mr Mutasa is convinced that the land — under properly structured co-operative farming — can provide the people with a much better standard of living than most now have in the towns.

"It is such a waste of lives and labour resources to have young people walking the streets looking for work when there is so much unused land, much of it close to the cities.

"Once we have set up a working communal farming system, we can then say to the jobless and underpaid in towns: 'Go to the land: it can provide you and the nation with all that is needed'."

Not only does the co-operative idea make good economic sense and provide the means of ending exploitation, says Mr Mutasa, but it is central to the ideology and principles of both ZANU (PF) and ZAPU.

"It embraces and modernises our traditional way of life, and I believe it is at the heart of the Prime Minister's call for rural development.

"It is the way to transform our future."

DELAY IN ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC POSTS DEFENDED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 3 Feb 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE Government has not rushed into setting up embassies or diplomatic missions all over the world. The appointment of three ambassadors last month brought to only 15 the countries where Zimbabwe has representation.

There are good reasons, including that of finance, for not opening missions willy-nilly, and these have to be weighed against the advantages.

The country's Ambassador to Bonn, Mr Chambati, has just spoken of some of the problems — including South African propaganda and other adverse reports — he has encountered from his post.

Mr Chambati is right when he says the country needs effective information, commercial and economic attaches at its missions. But these men are not easy to come by.

Such staff must be well versed in Zimbabwe's history and accomplishments and in its plans. They also need to be men and women who can handle and convince business and other leaders in the countries where they are posted.

The problem is that the type of person needed cannot be turned out after a six-month crash course, or be taken out of government departments because it is convenient to do so.

To find those who should fit the bill the Government may need to cast a wide net in the private sector, among knowledgeable and forceful people who can give a true picture of conditions in this country, and be a credit to it themselves. Even then, they would need some training.

It is a challenge, but it is worth pursuing in an effort to get the right people in the right places at the right time.



## PRINTING SUPPLY FIRMS FACE SHORTAGE OF SUPPLIES

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 29 Jan 82 p 8

[Text]

**THERE** was not a single kilogram of litho printing ink in stock at Coates Brothers (CA) Pvt Ltd, last week, the biggest firm of printing suppliers in Zimbabwe. Two similar firms were equally short of raw printing materials following drastic cuts in their quota allocations.

They are Croder Ltd and Mander-Kidd. All confirm that the cumulative cuts in quotas for essential raw materials for the printing industry is having a ripple effect on industry, commerce and the publishing industry.

Small consignments of printing materials have since arrived but shortages are expected to occur again in February or March.

Mr George Clark, managing director of Coates Brothers and also chairman of the Printing Ink Association of Zimbabwe, said that manufacturing and packaging firms were the greatest users of printing materials for local and for export products. Publishing firms came next.

**MARKETING**

"There isn't a thing you can market which doesn't

use some form of printing material," he said. "It is needed for everything from marking eggs or meat to making cigarette boxes, beer and bottle labels, packets, wrappings and even grain bags."

The three printing supply firms in Zimbabwe were all desperately short of raw materials and all had huge backlogs of orders for printing inks," said Mr Clark.

"One limited consignment of materials was held up due to the delay in issuing the January allocations and has now arrived. But it will be used up very soon and we shall be short again before the next quota period."

**CZI**

Mr Clark said his association has written to the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries pointing out that, although the printing supply industry is small in terms of currency, it supplied the entire converting industry which served manufacturers and industrialists throughout the country.

"Our quotas were cut by 21% in the last 1981 quarter. Now the January

1982 allocations have been cut by 20%. This is an effective 50% cut within four months in terms of actual production due to rising prices and the compound effect of the two cuts."

Mr Clark said his own firm supplied 100% of the demand for litho plates and about 60% of the inks needed in the industrial and commercial sectors as well as for the publishing industry including the Government Printers and the ZANU/PF owned Jongwe Press. Shortages of printing materials could affect official printing needs as well as those in the private sector.

#### **SUPPLEMENT**

"Fortunately so far we have been able to get special supplementary allocations for essential educational

needs. But demands are steadily increasing in all sectors," said Mr Clark.

His colleague, Mr Buster Crabbe, sales director for the firm, said the stock position last week had been so bad that the factory had come to a standstill. A dozen mill operators had been put to cutting grass in the grounds as there was no other work for them to do."

"Now a limited amount of materials ordered on our January quota has arrived. But our backlog of order is heavy and we shall probably run out of stock again in some areas in February or March," he said.

"Demands for materials are increasing due to greatly rising producer-consumer demands in Zimbabwe. We don't create the demand. We just try to keep up with it as best we can and when stock is finished, that's it. It's finished."

## NORWAY PROMISES TO HELP IN ANY FUEL CRISIS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 9 Feb 82 p 3

[Text]

NORWAY is prepared to help Zimbabwe if a serious fuel crisis developed in this country.

North Sea oil was available if Zimbabwe urgently needed supplies, the Norwegian Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Knut Taraldset, said yesterday.

This had already been discussed with the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, when he visited Norway last year.

Mr Taraldset said in an interview yesterday: "If Zimbabwe should have an urgent need for oil we will always be prepared and willing to discuss and find a solution to the problem."

Although North Sea oil rigs were mostly under the control of private companies, the Norwegian state oil company was steadily acquiring shares.

Already the Norwegian Storting (parliament) has vetoed the sale of North Sea oil to South Africa.

Norway, a bit smaller than Zimbabwe with a population of only four million, was already trans-

ferring one percent of its gross national product (GNP) — close to \$500 million — to developing countries.

Mr Taraldset said that in addition to these grants, considerable amounts were being collected by private organisations for assistance to different projects in the Third World.

"We are effecting an agreement regarding reconstruction of water supplies in rural areas. This is a two-year programme to the tune of \$10 million," he said about projects in Zimbabwe.

Another agreement together with Sweden on a \$13 million SADC-project to build a micro-wave link to Botswana and over Zimbabwe to Zambia was expected to be signed soon.

Several more projects for Zimbabwe were in the pipeline including delivery of merchandise.

Voluntary organisations were working on projects in health and education with money collected from private sources in Norway.

"I think there are few developing countries being met with so much sympathy and expectations in Norway as Zimbabwe.

"And in this region we regard Zimbabwe to be of the utmost importance.

"A successful development in this country might serve as an example to those who doubt the viability of a majority ruled country in this part of the world."

The Norwegian embassy in Salisbury was also expected to develop into a regional embassy for Southern African states.

The Norwegian government was also supporting Southern African liberation movements — SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa — through giving humanitarian assistance.

The long struggle for majority rule in Zimbabwe was also supported by Norway through political and humanitarian assistance during the war years by parliamentary appropriations and private organisations.

CSO: 4700/721

ZPC TRIES TO BRING STATE, PRIVATE SECTOR CLOSER

Salisbury BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Text]

THE Zimbabwe Promotion Council has directed its priorities to promoting a mutual understanding between the private sector and Government because of "deteriorating relations between the two".

Chairman of ZPC's public relations committee Mr Peter Humphrey said the organisation realises that in a government oriented towards socialism, this means a change in the structure to which the private sector must operate and their concern is to see that this change will have the least disruption to the economy as a whole.

"This objective can best be obtained by the council concentrating its efforts towards mutual understanding between the Government and private sector to ensure the economy remains strong.

The new policy is a direct shift from the objectives for which the ZPC was set up for, to promote understanding of Zimbabwe's economic de-

velopment and potential overseas, in order to encourage investment."

Mr Humphrey said the council will now concentrate on promoting the economy internally by organising visits to industrial and commercial concerns by decision makers, diplomats, members of parliament, senior civil servants and military personnel.

"In this way, the council hopes the public sector will have a better understanding of the private sector, and most of all that it does produce results.

"As it is, there hasn't been any significant foreign investment in Zimbabwe since independence, to the concern of businessmen.

The shift in priority does not mean the ZPC will neglect its other aims which include making contact with visiting business and professional men to acquaint them with the economic set-up in the country.

CSO: 4700/721

# IAN SMITH HITS GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT OF WHITE MINORITY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] The former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, has accused Mr Robert Mugabe's 22-month-old Black socialist government of systematically harassing the White minority.

Mr Smith (62), Opposition leader in Parliament and undisputed spokesman of most of the 190,000 remaining Whites, also forecast his people would continue to quit the former British territory, taking valuable skills with them.

Recent detentions of Whites for allegedly plotting the overthrow of the government or spying for South Africa coupled with verbal attacks on Whites "for everything that goes wrong in the country are part and parcel of an overall policy to destabilise the White population," Mr Smith said in an interview.

Emigration figures--reflecting an exodus of up to 1800 Whites a month--were "concrete evidence" of this strategy, Mr Smith said. It was mainly the Whites who were expressing opposition to Mr Mugabe's expressed desire to secure "a one-party dictatorship".

## Expense

Thus, he said, the government was seeking to destabilise Whites to weaken this opposition and pave the way for the imposition of one-party rule "even at the expense of the economy".

In the past five months at least 15 Whites have been detained under emergency powers, including one of Mr Smith's parliamentarians, a 65-year-old retired railman, Mr Wally Stuttford.

A second MP, former missionary Denis Walker, fled to London after he learnt police were seeking to detain him as well.

"The best way to destabilise the Whites is to get at their political leaders--our MPs," said Mr Smith, whose Republican Front party holds all 20 seats reserved for Whites in the 100-member national assembly.



He renewed Rhodesian Front charges that Mr Stuttadord, who is being detained indefinitely for allegedly plotting a coup, was tortured in prison, but he had no specific details.

Black leaders have countered that under Mr Smith thousands of Blacks were detained, tortured or executed.

Mr Smith, who insisted the avowed reconciliation policy was to forget the past, said Whites were increasingly worried about their future in the country they once ruled for nine decades.

He cited what he maintained were fallen standards in health and education, a deterioration in law enforcement and state-controlled media "attacks and insults" directed against Whites.

But, he said, "At this state I have no intention of leaving."

Asked under what circumstances he might consider leaving Zimbabwe, Mr Smith paused and said carefully: "If there were a total breakdown in law and order-- where it was unsafe for people, especially women and children, to go on living in this country or if general conditions deteriorated so drastically that one could only come to the conclusion it wasn't worth while living here any more-- then, in those kind of circumstances, I might consider going."

CSO: 4700/714

## LOCAL, FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN DISTRUST ECONOMIC SITUATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 4

[Text]

**SALISBURY.** — A total lack of confidence existed among both local and foreign businessmen on the economic situation in Zimbabwe, according to the general manager of the Dairy Marketing Board, Mr Eddie Cross.

In an interview with the semi-official news agency Zianna, Mr Cross said there was not enough consultation between government and business leaders on economic matters.

Major reasons for the lack of confidence, he believed, were the "almost complete absence of interaction between senior business leaders and government. Businessmen were obtaining their information and impressions of current political attitudes towards business issues second and third hand.

Mr Cross, elected current Businessman of the Year by the Associated Chambers of Commerce, added: "The ru-

mour machine is alive and well and that government ought to step up the amount of information it is giving to the business community".

Government leaders, he said, were constantly making statements to the majority of the people that were attacking businessmen as being exploiters. "There is a constant emphasis on social issues which is not being countered by private reassurances to the business community."

To overcome the present insecurity that existed, Mr Cross suggested that Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister, meet a select group of business leaders in the country to give his opinion on govern-

ment policy towards the business sector and his own attitude toward the private sector.

He said recently the government put clamps on poultry prices while the minimum wage and maize prices were increased.

"Businessmen look at this arbitrary handling of price mechanisms as being very dangerous. If price mechanisms are not handled extremely carefully and on the basis of full consultations and understanding of the broader implications of every single action, the danger is that you will not only destroy business confidence, but actually undermine the economic system itself."

— Sapa.

# DISCOVERY OF ILLEGAL ARMS AWAKENS FEARS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 8 Feb 82 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE discovery of 30 illegal arms caches on one of two farms owned by ZAPU near Bulawayo is by its sheer irony bound to cause rancour among peace-loving Zimbabweans.

What rends our hearts most is not so much the deadliness of these thousands of arms, including SAM-7 missiles, but rather the sinister motive behind their secret existence.

To everyone's knowledge neither Ascot farm on which the arms were found nor Woody Glen farm — both now under police and army control — was once an assembly point. Is it to be assumed then that the arms were transferred from former assembly points when these were being closed and at a time people were being "tranquillised" with a welter of rhetoric about the need for unity and peace among all progressive forces in the country?

If that is not so, where did they come from and whose war were they intended to fight?

It may well be that the ZIPRA or ZAPU leadership didn't know of the existence of the arms on the farm.

But even so the ordinary Zimbabwean will find it hard to believe. It is either those managing the two properties — which apparently had no arms at the time of purchase — are too dull to know of such a massive arms stockpile under their very nose or have an interesting story to tell the security forces about the arms caches.

The unwholesome situation at Ascot farm is likely to weaken ZAPU's posture for unity and peace as a partner with ZANU (PF) in the present Government.

The two parties waged the liberation war together and have a duty to build durable peace on the still-warm ashes of that war. But any skeletons rattled out of the cupboards of any one of them belie any verbal commitment to unity and peace.

When disclosing the discovery of the arms on Saturday, the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr Muna-gagwa, said he felt "very low" about the situation. There is no doubt that other Zimbabweans are equally dismayed by the machinations of the enemy within, especially with the know-ledge that some missiles are still "missing" and other arms are to be hauled out.

The ZAPU leadership should help the Government create a climate conducive to peace and development in Bulawayo. This also means an end to armed robberies.

CSO: 4700/721

## 'HERALD' ATTACKS NKOMO ON ARMS STOCKPILES DENIAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 10

[Text]

**SALISBURY.** — The denial by Zapu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo that he knew of the stockpiles on party properties will not necessarily absolve him says the leading Salisbury daily, The Herald.

The newspaper said in a leader yesterday.

"To most people, and especially his supporters, the Zapu leader and Minister Without Portfolio, Dr Joshua Nkomo, is known as the Father of Zimbabwe. This is because of his contribution to the independence of this country.

"But events over the last few days in which large caches of arms and military vehicles have been discovered by units of the national army on farms he personally owns through Nitram have now cast a doubt on his integrity as a national leader and his commitment to national government.

"More so if one reads the minutes of Zapu Central Committee of March 17 1981 in which the committee tried with little success to find out the role of the party in Nitram.

"The question is, which properties are owned by Zapu and which by Nitram? This is what Dr Callistus Ndelo and his commission to look into party projects was trying to find out last year, it too failed.

"Dr Nkomo refused to see the party's commission and accused it of irregularities. He personally felt insulted and his immediate reaction was to ignore the report and make his own," according to the minutes.

Apart from Nitram's role in Zapu, Dr Nkomo owed an explanation to the country why most of these caches were always near main roads.

"What also intrigues us is that in his denial Dr Nkomo did not make a special appeal to any of his supporters to come forward and assist the army in unearthing any caches which might have been hidden without his knowledge on his or Zapu properties.

"Zapu ministers in the government cannot have it both ways. They should either dissociate themselves or resign. Their silence is not enough," the leader said.

Meanwhile in the continuing search for arms and equipment caches on Zapu-owned property in Matabeleland, 43 military vehicles have been recovered by the army and the Central Intelligence Organisation from Nest Egg Farm near Bulawayo.

The farm is one of a signals repair unit with equipment worth more than ZD500 000 (R625 000).

Most of the trucks are Soviet-made and most are troop transporters of various types. There are also ambulances and fuel tankers. One troop vehicle formerly belonged to the national army.

An army spokesman said a very large quantity of medical supplies had also been recovered from Nest Egg.

The trucks were parked under trees on the farm, so they were invisible from the air but could be seen easily by anyone on the ground.

The spokesman said most of the vehicles were in running order and some were almost new. A few were in need of repairs.

The signals repair unit containing very modern and sophis-

ticated digital equipment. All the vehicles were now at Brady Barracks, Bulawayo.

Sapa.

JOURNALIST CLAIMS NKOMO INTERVIEW CAUSE OF HIS EXPULSION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Aida Parker]

[Text]

DR HANS Germani, first journalist to be designated "an enemy of the Zimbabwe people", believes that he got the boot from Salisbury largely because of an interview he had set up with Mr Joshua Nkomo next week.

Dr Germani, Africa correspondent for the powerful West German Axel Springer publishing house, landed at Jan Smuts last night after having his accreditation to work as a journalist in Zimbabwe removed; having received an expulsion order and after being officially declared "an enemy of the people".

Dr Germani said: "I think I was unlucky that I happened to arrive on the scene at the very moment that the Mugabe-Nkomo clash over the uncovered Zippa arms caches had reached crisis point.

"I arrived on Monday, was given a work permit for 12 days, and on the same day was told by Mr Nkomo's people that he would see me next week.

"On Tuesday morning Mr Jim Graves of the Information Office received the order, cancelling my accreditation.

"I went to see Mr Justin Nyoko, the Director of Information, whose first question was: 'Why are you meddling in Nkomo's affairs?'

"He then said: 'You keep hammering away that we want a one-party state. We don't want a one-party state.' I said I found that curious, as Mr Mugabe was on record saying he wanted a one-party state. Nyoko reiterated, 'We don't want a one-party state'.

"I then went to see

Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, the Minister of Information. He had two of my articles on his desk, the one disclosing the link between General Damisa Dhengwe and Moscow, the other on the presence of the North Koreans.

"Dr Shamuyarira complained that these articles gave the impression that 'we are closely linked with the USSR.' He particularly complained about quotations I had used from The Citizen, describing it as 'a fascist newspaper'.

"When I pointed out that I also quoted from the Rand Daily Mail, The Star and The Sunday Times, he replied: 'Oh, they are all the same. They are all fascist newspapers'.

Dr Germani said it

appeared that there were also complaints about an article he had written on the sick, detained Republican Front MP, Mr Wally Stuttford.

In this he suggested that South Africa used the customs agreement negotiations to apply a little pressure on Zimbabwe to see that human rights were preserved. "Apparently, that gave great offence."



## AUSTRALIANS SEEK TO INCREASE TRADE

Salisbury BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Text]

AUSTRALIAN manufacturers are ready to make agreements for their products to be made under licence in Zimbabwe, senior trade commissioner for Eastern Africa, Mr Barrie Rutter has said.

He said Australian exporters were aware of Zimbabwe's shortage of foreign exchange and of the Government's licensing policies which give emphasis to those items which complement and supplement Zimbabwe's manufacturing industry, rather than compete with it.

"Agreements for manufacturing under licence in Zimbabwe can support the Zimbabwe manufacturing sector and create job opportunities," he said.

Total trade between Australia and Zimbabwe stands at \$5 million annually in favour of Zimbabwe.

Mr Rutter, who is based in Nairobi, said the Trade Commission was making more frequent trips to Zimbabwe in recognition of the growing importance of Zimbabwe-Australia trade.

However, trade between the two countries is not high enough to warrant a

trade attache in Salisbury. Improved trade will depend on improved access for Australian goods, better transport facilities, and greater sales of Zimbabwean goods in Australia, said Mr Rutter.

Australian firms are always looking for investment opportunities but this is dependent upon Government policy towards incentives, remittances, taxes and other operating factors.

Mr Rutter said the Australian Export and Finance and Insurance Corporation is in a position to assist Australian exporters to Zimbabwe on a case by case basis. Medium term financing of trade is available.

As an immediate step to encourage trade between the two countries, a contract has been signed between the Australian government and a Zimbabwean public relations company, Spectrum (Pvt.) Ltd.

Mr Rutter said businessmen can make direct contact to the office of the Australian Trade Commission at P. O. Box 44719, Nairobi, or through Spectrum in Salisbury.

## GEC HELPS IMPROVE SKILLS SITUATION

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 29 Jan 82 p 5

[Text]

THE drastic shortage of skilled electrical and mechanical engineering technicians in Zimbabwe may be improved following a two-week visit at present being made by two senior executives of the international British-based GEC (General Electric Corporation).

Their purpose is to survey the overall needs of Zimbabwe for technicians in the electrical, electronics and mechanical engineering fields, not only for the local GEC Zimbabwe Pvt Ltd, company, but in order to help the country generally.

GEC Zimbabwe, headed by managing director Mr Russ McAnulla, is already involved in big development schemes here. These include building the foundations for switchgear for the multi-million electrification of the National Railways of Zimbabwe for which it will supply a 300 km communications system worth about \$8.5 million, running from Salisbury to Dabuka, near Gwelo.

## MICROWAVE

GEC Telecommunications Ltd of Britain will co-ordinate the design, supply and installation of the communications equipment. This will include nine 100m high microwave radio masts being built between Salisbury and Gwelo, each of two gigahertz capacity. The first mast is due to go up in February at the railway sidings near Workington.

These masts, similar to that at present on the top of the PTC building in Salisbury's Second Street, will carry modulated high frequency communications with an

ultimate capacity of 300 speech circuits — one of the most sophisticated systems in the country to operate in the 450 MHz ultra-high frequency band to protect the vital traffic carried by the rail system.

The GEC group is also likely to be involved in the proposed \$140 million development of the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and its planned earth-satellite station links.

One of the visiting GEC representatives, Mr E W Francis of GEC High Voltage Switchgear Ltd, Manchester, said that the budget for the PTC expansion had been agreed, banking channels for the finance had been appointed and contracts for the project were due to go out within the next few months.

He and his colleague Mr John Lorrigan, Controller of Training for GEC Telecommunication Ltd, are now in Zimbabwe on an exploratory visit to assess the shortage of technicians not only for their own needs in Zimbabwe but for the country as a whole.

"It would be quite easy for us to provide the technical staff needed for our interests here. But we are not limiting our plans to training our own staff," he said.

"If Zimbabwe is going to cope with big technological changes now and in the future, a wide range of sophisticated training will be required and here we believe we can help, especially among those who are already studying at the University of Zimbabwe and the three technical colleges."

Mr Lorrigan said that the GEC organisation was already providing

training for Zimbabwe electrical engineers for the maintenance and running of equipment being supplied under contract to the Railways.

"We automatically do that in any country where we are involved. However, we are now looking at wider and more general training needs," he said.

The GEC organisation and officials of the British Overseas Development Agency had already discussed aid funds which might be contributed towards general training schemes in Zimbabwe, while the GEC group would fund its own side of necessary training, he said.

## SUFFICIENT

"If sufficient training facilities are not available in Zimbabwe, it might be necessary for aid to be granted in order to build or enlarge training facilities in this country," he said.

He said that a normal apprenticeship course took about five years but the GEC organisation could put an apprentice through a basic technical course within three years.

"We have even trained people in two years," said Mr Lorrigan.

"In Zimbabwe you would be bankrupt of essential skills unless basic training can be speeded up. We are very concerned about the loss of qualified technical people in this country."

Mr Francis said that apprentices could do theoretical work in Zimbabwe and their practical

training, if necessary, during holidays in the United Kingdom.

"That is how British engineers are trained and there seems no reason why this cannot be arranged in Zimbabwe."

He said there were 1 500 Zimbabweans in Britain now on degree courses arranged through the British Council.

"We could concentrate on giving them practical training through our organisation in Britain. This is only one of the ways in which we could help Zimbabwe as a whole."

The two visiting GEC representatives together with the head of the local firm, Mr McAnulla, have a heavy schedule of appointments with the Ministries of Manpower, Development, Energy, Industry, Telecommunications, Road and Economic Planning. They will also meet representatives of the Apprenticeship Training Board, Technical Colleges, the PTC, CAPCO, ESC, Railways, various municipal Electricity Departments, the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers and heads of the University of Zimbabwe engineering faculty.

CSO: 4700/721

## BARCLAYS SIGNS LOAN AGREEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT

Salisbury BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Text]

BARCLAYS Bank International Limited, through its locally incorporated subsidiary, Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited, recently signed a loan agreement with the Government under which the bank will provide US\$40 million to help meet the Government's short term financial commitments.

The rates of interest are said to be "marginally higher" than the London Inter Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR) and were described by one bank official as comparing very favourably with loan conditions obtained by other countries.

This is the second such agreement to be negotiated between Barclays and the Zimbabwe Government in the last six months.

The first was concluded last August and is believed to be for a like amount.

A spokesman for Barclays said that the signing of the loans formed part of the constant dialogue between the com-

mercial banks and the Government.

Since Barclays became locally incorporated in Zimbabwe in June last year, loans totalling US \$147 million have so far been made available either to the Government or to quasi-government bodies, such as the National Railways of Zimbabwe, Air Zimbabwe and the Electricity Supply Commission.

One bank official explained that the flexibility afforded by international bank institutions means that governments the world over were now taking more and more advantage of loan facilities afforded by commercial banks instead of approaching other governments and international development agencies.

Barclays has also arranged a general purpose line of credit with the United Kingdom for \$3.7 million and another with France for \$12.5 million. These lines of credit are mainly for use by the private sector.

CSO: 4700/721

ESCOM FACES DEADLINE ON ORDERING GENERATORS

Salisbury BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 6

[Text]

**THE Electricity Supply Commission has until February 15 to decide whether to order two further coal-fired steam generating units for Phase 2 of the Wankie thermal power station development.**

ESCOM general manager Mr Douglas Irvine said this week that Babcock International of the UK, which has supplied other units for Wankie Phase 1, had offered an option on the purchase of one or two other generators.

"We have kept the option open, but haven't firmly decided yet. We have until February 15 to decide," said Mr Irvine.

If the option is taken up ESCOM will have to put up \$500 000 as a commitment fee.

Last week Babcock Power, part of the British group, announced that it

had received a letter of intent from ESCOM for the sale and installation of two units costing over \$48 million for Wankie Phase 1, Stage 2.

The company won the order after fending off competition from another British group, NEL, and Stein Industrie, part of the French-owned Alsthom Atlantique group.

Finance for that equipment was provided through London merchant bankers Lazard Brothers. Credit facilities were backed by the British Government's Exports Credit Guarantee Department.

CSO: 4700/721

## VALIDITY OF MERGER OF TEXTILE TRADE UNIONS UPHELD

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 3 Feb 82 p 4

[Text]

**THE** merger at the weekend between rival trade unions in the clothing industry is valid, the publicity and information secretary of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Elphegio Soko, said yesterday.

He said unity among rival unions in each industry was the ZCTU's main task and "we will ensure that all unions are united this year".

"It is our policy to unite all unions for the good of the country and to forge ahead with our aim of having a strong and powerful labour movement in this country. We will not achieve our objective until we are really united," he said.

Mr Soko was reacting to a statement by the general secretary of the National Union of the Clothing Industry, Mr Charles Pasipanodya on Monday that his organisation did not recognise the merger with the Zimbabwe Clothing Workers' Union which was led by Mr Paul Mashawire.

Mr Soko said the meeting on Saturday by the two unions decided unequivocally that the leadership wrangle should come to an end and a strong union should be formed to represent the interests of the workers.

**MAJORITY**

Mr Pasipanodya, who did not attend the meeting, said his union was not involved in the merger at which Mr Mashawire was elected president.

He alleged that the meeting was attended by members of the ZCWU alone who formed the new Zimbabwe Clothing Industry Workers' Union.

Said Mr Soko: "The truth is that a majority of members of his organisation attended the meeting and took part in all the proceedings. It was him and a few others who were not present."

"I don't understand the reasoning behind his opposition to what the people have decided. If he thinks that he can reverse the decision of the workers in the clothing industry, he is living in a dreamland. There is no going back. What was decided is what the ZCTU will respect and honour," he declared.

He added that the merger exercise started last September with Mr Pasipanodya's participation in the talks and "I don't understand why he should now complain after agreeing to everything".



## NATIONAL FARMERS ASSOCIATION LAUNCHES NEW VERNACULAR MAGAZINE

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 29 Jan 82 p 8

[Text]

THE National Farmers Association, of Zimbabwe has just launched a new quarterly magazine which is being sponsored by National Breweries Limited. Printed in Shona and Ndebele, the magazine will become the main communication link between the association and small or communal farmers.

NFAZ President, Mr Robinson Gapare, said his association is grateful to Natbrew for this sponsorship because it will facilitate the spreading of farming information to the remoter rural areas.

## EDUCATE

"Our aim is to educate the small farmers, especially the communal farmers, as to how they can improve their results and increase the benefits they derive from their own efforts," he said "We see our new publication as

becoming very important to the country as a whole. The fact that it's printed in Shona and Ndebele versions will be of great benefit to peasant farmers."

The managing director of National Breweries Limited, Mr Dan Acutt, said that, as a farmer's son himself, he has always felt a deep sympathy for the farmers of Zimbabwe.

"As a company we have a direct interest in farmers who grow barley, and recently we've been very active in encouraging increased production at Sanyati, Gowe and Exchange Block," he said. "We provide expert technical advice on barley growing wherever we can. But we also believe in broadening our support to the farming community. Mr Gapare's publication is worth supporting and we wish his Association every success."

CSO: 4700/721

## TOBACCO MERGER COULD LEAD TO GROWER CONTROL

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 29 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] A MAJOR move to streamline tobacco selling operations which could eventually bring all selling under the control of growers, was undertaken recently with the amalgamation of the country's two tobacco floors.

The move merges the tobacco selling operations of Tobacco Sales Ltd, which is 43 1/4% grower owned, and those of TA Holdings Ltd, which has been in operation for 46 years. The merger should save growers about \$750 000 and perhaps as much as \$1 million in floor charges this season.

## RESULT

The amalgamation, which cost TSL \$2,5 million, is the result of recommendations made by P E Consultants, who were hired by the growers to assess the viability of the tobacco industry after the disastrous 1979-80 season. Their recommendations, which were backed by a committee set up by the Zimbabwe Tobacco Association, were that:

- The current auction method of pricing be continued.

- The ZTA should own and control the tobacco floors and run them in a "cost effective" manner beneficial to both growers and buyers.

The ZTA committee, headed by Dr I MacDonald of the Tobacco Research Board, fully concurred with the recommendations and added that the tobacco exchanges should be within the control of the industry and not subjected to whims of individuals or parent companies. The committee added that the ZTA, which represents all growers, could run the floors efficiently, and if a profit was

made it could be used to reduce grower costs.

As a result of the recommendations, the ZTA decided to investigate the possibility of promoting grower ownership of the floors. But before a feasibility study commissioned by the association was completed, TA announced that it was willing to sell its interests and good will to Tobacco Sales.

The decision raised controversy among some growers, who felt that the creation of a single-floor monopoly was not in their best interests. Many growers had been dealing with "floor personalities" for years and were afraid that they might not get the same service.

## REDUNDANT

But Mr Bert Palmer, ZTA president, said that not one employee of either floor had been made redundant and that TA's staff had been absorbed into the new operation.

He added that the ZTA was determined that standards would be maintained.

Tobacco Sales have undertaken a number of renovations to their premises to improve efficiency. These include: creating a larger and more efficient receiving area which will reduce off-loading time. Handling all rail delivered tobacco at the Hubert Fox complex. Rehandling tobacco away from the premises. A non-stop sales programme starting at 7.30 am and ending at 1.30 pm each day. Increasing the computer equipment in the accounting and statistical operations, and fully integrating all TA staff.

## BONUS

Growers will also receive a bonus if they increase the weight mass of the bales they deliver.

Mr Palmer said that the ZTA would undertake a study to determine if it is worthwhile to take over 100% of the tobacco floor. At 43 1/4% the ZTA is by far the largest shareholder in Tobacco Sales and Mr Palmer said the association had an option to take over the floor. However, this would be done only if a feasibility study commissioned by the ZTA determined that it would make the floor more efficient and save the growers money.

---

*Excellent crop*

THERE is no reason why this tobacco season should not be as good as, if not better than last year, the president of the Zimbabwe Tobacco Association, Mr Bert Palmer, told *The Gazette* this week.

Mr Palmer said that the season had started with a dry spell in December which assured growers of good yields, and this was followed by good rains. Except for a few patchy areas, growers were confident of an excellent season this year.

Among the top grades, prices should match last year's, and with the tobacco delivery quota set at 96 million kgs (70 million last year) grower income should increase substantially.

Mr Palmer added that Burley tobacco growers in the communal areas could also look to a good price season.

PUBLICATION OF PARTY PAPER SCHEDULED SOON

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 6 Feb 82 p 3

[Text]

THE newly established Jongwe Printing and Publishing Company will next week start production of Zimbabwe News, a ZANU (PF) organ, acting party secretary for publicity and information, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, said this week.

"We have now reassembled all the staff we had during the war," he said in an interview.

Dr Zvobgo, who is also the Minister of Local

Government and Housing, said the paper was a monthly, but there were plans to go weekly and then daily. He said Jongwe was a privately registered company with seven directors, all members of ZANU (PF).

The company had a special relationship with the party because most of its assets had been procured by ZANU (PF). It was a commercial organisation that would support itself

through trading.

Dr Zvobgo said the company would accept contracts from everybody, even those who wanted to publish their manuscripts. "We shall publish material that is in our view progressive because Jongwe is a progressive publishing house."

The company had already won contracts, including the printing of the Hansard from the National Assembly. It

was also printing history books for Grades Six and Seven as well as party publications.

At the moment the company was concentrating on the commercial side to strengthen itself economically.

Explaining the functions of Zimbabwe News, Dr Zvobgo said the paper would have "no pretences" but lay emphasis on party policies and programmes.

CSO: 4700/721

## PROUD YEAR FOR PEASANT FARMERS, SAYS ZNFU BOSS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 8 Feb 82 p 5

[Text]

**ZIMBABWE'S** peasant farming community can look back with justifiable pride on its performance in 1981, says the president of the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union, Mr Gary Magadzire.

Writing in *Murimi/Umlimi*, the official journal of the ZNFU, he said the farmers had not only fed themselves and the nation, but they had also saved foreign currency on imports and generated currency with the export surpluses.

But he warned: "This success must not . . . divert and distract our attention from self-analysis and criticism. Our undivided attention must now be to the methods of production and yields per hectare."

Present yields were markedly lower than those of commercial farmers, and reflected a lack of scientific and modern appropriate technology, lack of money, inadequate fertilisation, use of poor quality seed, poor pest and disease control and untimely tillage.

"Animal husbandry leaves much to be desired. Many programmes, if any exist, appear to be accidental in both their nature and practice to be of any real meaning.

"Dipping, inoculation, dosing, veld management and supplementary maintenance and feeding are for successful livestock management," said Mr Magadzire.

Purchase area and communal farmers together held 3.5 million head of cattle. At 10 percent slaughter offtake a year, the Cold Storage Commission would get 350 000 head, but because of the high mortality rate, poor quality cattle and low calving percentage, only 2,886 cattle were slaughtered in 1981.

"It can be noted that the enormous agricultural potential lying in this area has barely been tapped. This is a challenge to both the farmers and the extension service," he said.

The ZNFU president said he was convinced that, given the right tools, peasants could compete favourably with the large-scale producer. Farmers had to expose themselves to the available advice for self-improvement.

ANGLO-AMERICAN TAKES FIRMER GRIP ON SUGAR INDUSTRY

Salisbury BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by David Linsell]

[Text] The Anglo American Corporation of South Africa has taken a firmer grip on Zimbabwe's sugar industry following last week's agreed merger of Huletts Corporation and Tongaat.

As a result of the Z\$410 million deal, Anglo now controls 39,4 percent of the newly-formed Tongaat - Hulett Group, and 100 percent of Triangle Sugar Corporation Ltd, the country's second largest sugar producer and sole supplier of ethanol.

Anglo also owns Hippo Valley Estates, which last year produced record figures.

Triangle will be controlled as from April 1 by Hulett Sugar Ltd, which is to hold all the sugar interests of Tongaat-Hulett.

The implications for Anglo's local interests are not said to be profound, as once again, Anglo American Corporation Zimbabwe Ltd stated this week that there was no intention of merging Triangle with Hippo Valley Estates.

Mr Brian Bullett, managing director of Hippo Valley, said: "Big is not necessarily beautiful. It's efficiency that counts.

"I don't see the merger on Tongaat and Hulett making any difference. Triangle is obviously connected to Huletts and will continue to be so.

"There is no justification for merging. There would be minimal advantages in certain areas, but they would not be significant," he said.

CSO: 4700/721

## TWO MAJOR MINING FIRMS OFFER GOVERNMENT STAKES IN OPERATIONS

Salisbury BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Text]

**TWO major international mining groups with interests in Zimbabwe have offered the Government stakes in their local operations.**

Union Carbide Corporation, a US-based mining house with extensive chrome interests here, and the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd have held talks at ministerial level during the last 18 months.

According to the London-based magazine, African Economic Digest, in an interview last month with Minister of Mines, Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, the Government was considering the offers and further talks would be held.

The minister, said AED, suggested the proposals involved buying a percentage of share capital to give the Government some measure of equity participation.

Union Carbide's offer followed the opening of its new smelting plant at Que Que in March, 1981. On that occasion the corporation's chairman, Mr William Snead, said it regarded every relationship with a host country as a kind of partnership serv-

ing mutual interests, a partnership venture.

"Indeed, we think the partnership approach would be most appropriate and useful here in Zimbabwe, and we would welcome the chance to co-operate with your Government in creating such an arrangement," said Mr Snead.

Union Carbide, he added, had partnerships in over 30 countries, including Kenya, India, Mexico, Egypt, Sudan, Ghana and Brazil.

That initiative, however, does not seem to have got very far.

Mr James Rawlings, chairman of the corporation's southern African arm, said last week that the idea of equity participation appeared to have been turned down.

"They (the Government) were interested at a theoretical level, but when it came to the bottom line they were not interested," said Mr Rawlings.

Secretary for Mines Mr Christopher Ushewokunze

said on Tuesday, in response to that statement, that an offer had been made 18 months ago by Union Carbide.

"But the offer was rejected. The terms were not acceptable," said Mr Ushewokunze, who added that he was not aware of any discussions with the Anglo American Corporation regarding its local interests.

Chief executive of Anglo American Corporation in Zimbabwe, Mr Gerry Carey-Smith, said this week: "Government have indicated that they would like an equity participation in Wankie and we for our part have said that we would welcome it, provided of course that the terms are fair and reasonable.

"Government appear certainly to accept this principle.

"There have been no other talks with Government, or offers made, in respect of other mining companies in the Anglo group," he said.

CSO: 4700/721



NEW MINING LEGISLATION SAID TO BE 'BORN OF MISTRUST'

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 29 Jan 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Policy of Mistrust"]

[Text]

THE passage of the Minerals Marketing Corporation Bill through Parliament this week has emphasised the determination of the government to regulate this country's mining industry in its own way. The advice and experience of the industry itself has been disregarded by the Minister of Mines even on relatively minor principles.

Unfortunately, the new legislation has largely been born of mistrust. The government is convinced that the exploitation and sales of minerals by private companies is operated at a financial disadvantage to the country.

Mistrust as a motive, and a refusal to take advantage of the experience of those who have created and maintained one of the nation's principal economic sectors, does not herald an auspicious entry into the jungle of international mineral marketing for the new corporation.

The mining industry can now only wait and see — as will those foreign companies who may be planning to enter the industry here.

The Minister has said that the success or failure of the corporation will depend on the political, moral and technical will of Zimbabweans — and specifically includes the mining companies in this grouping. He also welcomed constructive advice from producers (they may, of course, feel that this has already been offered).

It is to be hoped that the new corporation will move forward surely, but slowly, into its new role. It is to be hoped that the industry will extend its full co-operation with what is now a reality — albeit an unwelcome one. It is also to be hoped that if the corporation is not successful government will have the political courage to return to a system which, while not ideal, has at least proved itself.

## BRIEFS

**NEW ARMY CHIEF**--The new commander of the British Military Advisory and Training Team, Major-General Colin Shortis met with President Banana and the outgoing commander, Major-General Patrick Palmer, last night. General Shortis said it was a great honour for him to be selected to lead the team. "The formation of a national army is a continuing process and the BMATT will help in that process, and we change the pattern of our help as changes come," he said. General Shortis has served in Sudan, Kenya, Belize, Aden and Cyprus, was previously at the Royal College of Defence Studies and was a brigade commander in Northern Ireland. He takes over command of EMATT today. General Palmer said he was sad to leave Zimbabwe, "a beautiful country". He said the process of integration was not easy: "I think it has been successful owing to all concerned being determined that it should succeed, and their feeling that we should have a solid army." He said the greatest help that the British could give to Zimbabwe was staff, leadership and technical training. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 3 Feb 82 p 1]

**MINING UNIONS MERGE**--Two rival unions in the mining industry merged yesterday after several months of negotiations. The Associated Mineworkers' of Zimbabwe and the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association agreed to merge after a marathon meeting in Salisbury. Delegates from all branches throughout the country agreed that the Associated Mineworkers' of Zimbabwe should be the name of the new organisation. In a statement the new union said it was mutually agreed that the interests for which the two trade unions stood, should be registered in the name of the new union. At the meeting Mr Jeoffrey Mutandare was elected president and Mr Leonard Makein as his deputy. Mr Mutandare said afterwards he was delighted that a merger was achieved after "so many months of protracted negotiations". "As far as I am concerned, this is a step in the right direction which will unite all our workers in the mining industry. We have geared ourselves to the Government's policy of one union to each industry for the benefit of the workers." Mr Makein said he was happy that a merger had come about and hoped the new organisation would grow stronger and work for the interests of its members. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 5 Feb 82 p 3]

**EXODUS OF HEALTH STAFF**--Bulawayo--The City has only half the number of health inspectors it needs, and food hygiene standards are beginning to drop, Dr E. F. Watson, the city council's Medical Officer of Health, said yesterday. He said tests at places making, selling or handling food were disclosing conditions that could cause dysentery, food poisoning, enteritis or even typhoid. Only typhoid was notifiable "and fortunately we have not had an increase in that", Dr Watson said.

Health inspectors were essential to keep food handlers "up to the mark" on hygiene. His depleted staff had been working non-stop to cope with the work confronting it. Five health inspectors were expected to join the staff soon. "Then we shall be only one below establishment," he said. The council received Government permission to advertise in Britain for health inspectors. Dr Watson interviewed six of the applicants when he was overseas recently and recruited four of them. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 3 Feb 82 p 4]

APOLITICAL BODIES--Bulawayo--The Government not only supports non-racial, non-ethnic and non-political organisations, said the Deputy-Prime Minister, Mr Simon Muzenda, last night--it wants to see more of them. Having launched the Public relation Committee at Bulawayo, he told them: "Such an apolitical organisation like yours becomes a beacon to emulate." He repeated the Government's pledge on redistribution of national wealth, especially towards those who created it, as part of the drive towards national transformation. Warning "all misfits and malcontents," Mr Muzenda called for peace and tranquility with all people joining hands and forgetting petty jealousies in the fight to overcome Zimbabwe's problems. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 6 Feb 82 p 1]

GWANZURA QUILTS UANC--The United African National Council (UANC) provincial vice-chairman of the Midlands, Mr Tennis Gwanzura, has resigned from the party to join ZANU (PF). Announcing his resignation, Mr Gwanzura, who was also the UANC Amaveni youth secretary, said it was quite clear that ZANU (PF) had the support of the majority of Zimbabweans and it was logical to join the party. "The UANC is a dying party and most of its influential members are resigning and I call upon members to join the ruling party," he said. The ZANU (PF) administrative secretary in Que Que, Mr Osmond Zimonde, said that since the attainment of independence, a considerable number of other minority party members had joined the ruling party in the Que Que district. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 9 Feb 82 p 3]

BELGIAN TRADE FORUM--Zimbabwe will take part in the Sixth Forum of Nations in Belgium in May, says a spokesman for the Ministry of Trade and Commerce. The forum, a general consumers fair, will be held at the Brussels Exhibition Centre from May 7 to 16, at the same time as the Fifth Spring Trade Fair. The spokesman said manufacturers and exporters interested in taking part in the forum, should contact Mr Nigel Comrie or Mr Jacob Chambe of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce in Salisbury on 702731 before Friday. The forum would be in two parts: more than 15 000 selected trade buyers would be invited and a programme of appointments would be arranged in advance with them by the commercial department of the Brussels Exhibition Centre. On the other hand, the show would cater for the general public and cash sales would be made from the stands to the public, the spokesman said. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 9 Feb 82 p 6]

MINERS PREPARE CONSTITUTION--Representatives of the two mining unions which merged last week will draw up a new constitution. The president of the new organisation, the Associated Mineworkers' Union of Zimbabwe, Mr Jeffrey Mutandare, said it was necessary for the two unions to reach a compromise since they were dealing with different insurance companies and had different subscriptions. The Associated Mineworkers' Union of Zimbabwe merged with the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association last week and Mr Mutandare was elected president. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 9 Feb 82 p 16]

TEA SEMINAR DELEGATION--A three-man delegation from the Ministry of Trade and Commerce leaves Salisbury tomorrow to attend a seminar of the tea exporting countries in New Delhi. The seminar, convened by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, is expected to finalise proposals of tea exporting countries for a future international tea agreement. A Government statement said other African countries such as Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire would also attend. The major tea exporting countries outside Africa will also attend the meeting. It said that although Zimbabwe was one of the smaller exporters of tea, its attendance at the seminar was "necessary to protect her interests--especially in relation to exports into member importing countries". [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Feb 82 p 6]

PRINTING PLANTS--The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, yesterday officially opened a bank note-printing plant which Zimbabwe hopes will supply African countries seeking to reduce their dependence on South Africa and the industrialised world. The R12-million plant, owned by the Zimbabwe Reserve Bank, has a production capacity of one billion notes a year, compared with Zimbabwe's annual requirement of 45-million. In his opening address, Mr Mugabe urged nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to have their bank notes printed in Zimbabwe. The conference, comprising Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi, was set up mainly to reduce members' reliance on the ports and industry of South Africa. Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe are the only countries in sub-Saharan Africa which have their own bank note printing works. Most of the region's requirements are met in Europe. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 10]

CONVICTED MAN FLEES--A White former police officer sentenced to six months' imprisonment for illegally possessing arms of war has jumped bail and fled to South Africa, a state prosecutor has told the Gwelo Magistrate's Court. James Holt (29), who resigned as a police inspector a year ago, was on bail of ZD2,000 (R2600) plus ZD2,000 surety awaiting appeal against conviction when he left the country on Tuesday, the prosecutor, Mr G J Labuschagne, said. British-born Mr Holt, who emigrated to Zimbabwe 10 years ago with his parents, had travelled by car into South Africa with his wife Christine, the prosecutor said. Mr Holt is one of about 10 Whites arrested in the last four months for illegal possession of arms. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Feb 82 p 10]

CSO: 4700/714

END



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

MAR 3-82.